ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

VOLUME IV.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

VOLUME IV.



LONDON,
Printed by J. NICHOLS, Printer to the SOCIETY;
and sold at their APARTMENTS in SOMERSET PLACE; and by Messieurs
WHITE, ROBSON, LEIGH and SOTHEBY, and BROWN.
MDCCLXXXVI.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. *A further Account of ſome Remains of* Roman *and other Antiquities in or near the County of* Brecknock *in* South Wales. *By* John Strange, *Eſquire.* Page 1

II. *On the Term* Levant. *By the Honourable* Daines Barrington. *In a Letter to the Rev. Dr.* Milles, *Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries,* London. 27

III. *An Enquiry into the Nature and Cauſe of King* John's *Death; wherein is ſhewn that it was not effected by Poiſon. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr.* Milles, *Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries,* London, *from the Rev. Mr.* Pegge. 29

IV. *Illuſtration of a Gold enamelled Ring, ſuppoſed to have been the Property of* Alhſtan, *Biſhop of* Sherburne; *with ſome Account of the State and Condition of the* Saxon *Jewelry in the more early Ages. By the Rev. Mr.* Pegge. 47

V. *An Account of Human Bones filled with Lead. In a Letter from Mr.* Worth, *late of* Diſs, *F. A. S. to* Edward King, *Eſquire. With Obſervations thereon, by Dr.* Hunter. 69

VII. *Re-*

VII. *Remarks on the Antiquity and the different Modes of Brick and Stone Buildings in* England. *By Mr.* James Eſſex *of* Cambridge. 73

VIII. *Obſervations on* Kit's Cotty Houſe, *in* Kent. *In a Letter to the Honourable* Daines Barrington, *from the Reverend Mr.* Pegge. 110

IX. *Account of a ſingular Diſcovery of Bones in* Chriſt-Church *Priory*, Hampſhire. *By* Guſtavus Brander, *Eſquire. In a Letter to the Preſident.* 117

X. *An Account of the Great Seal of* Ranulph *Earl of* Cheſter; *and of two ancient Inſcriptions found in the Ruins of* St. Edmund Bury *Abbey. By* Edward King, *Eſquire. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr.* Norris, *Sec. A. S.* 119

XI. *Obſervations on a Coin of* Robert *Earl of* Glouceſter, *addreſſed to the Preſident. By Mr.* Colebrook. 132

XII. *On the Origin of the Word* Romance; *by the Rev. Mr.* Drake. *In a Letter to the Secretary.* 142

XIII. *Some Obſervations on* Lincoln *Cathedral. By Mr.* James Eſſex. 149

XIV. *Account of the Diſcoveries at* Pompeii, *communicated by Sir* William Hamilton. 160

XV. *Some Account of a curious Seal Ring belonging to Sir* Richard Worſley, *of* Appledore combe, *in the* Iſle of Wight, *Bart. By the Rev. Dr.* Milles, *Dean of* Exeter, *S. A. P.* 176

XVI. *Conjectures on Sir* Richard Worſley's *Seal. By* John Charles Brooke, *Eſquire, of the Heralds College, F. A. S. In a Letter to the Dean of* Exeter. 182

XVII. *A Diſſertation on a moſt valuable Gold Coin of* Edmund Crouchback, *Son of* Henry III. *By the Rev. Mr.* Pegge. 190

XVIII. *An Account of the Events produced in* England *by the Grant of the Kingdom of* Sicily *to Prince* Edmund *Second Son*

of King Henry *the Third. With ſome Remarks upon the Seal of that Prince. By* Thomas Aſtle, *Eſquire.* Page 195

XIX. *Of the Wiſdom of the antient* Egyptians; *a Diſcourſe concerning their Arts, their Sciences, and their Learning, their Laws, their Government, and their Religion. With occaſional Reflections upon the State of Learning among the* Jews *and ſome other Nations. Communicated by Mr.* Lort. 212

XX. *The Ceremonial of making the King's Bed. Communicated by Mr.* Brooke, *of the Heralds College, F. S. A.* 311

XXI. *Obſervations on the* Apamean *Medal. By the Hon.* Daines Barrington. 315

XXII. *Obſervations on the* Apamean *Medal. By the Rev. Dr.* Milles, *Dean of* Exeter, *and P. A. S.* 331

XXIII. *Remarks upon Mr.* Bryant's *Vindication of the* Apamean *Medal. By the Abbé* Barthelemy *and Mr.* Charles Combe, *F. R. and A. S. S.* 347

XXIV. *Account of Coins, &c. found in digging the Foundations of ſome old Houſes near the Church of* St. Mary Hill, London, 1774. *By the Rev. Dr.* Griffith, *Rector of that Church.* 356

XXV. *Obſervations on Antient Caſtles. By* Edward King, *Eſquire.* 364

XXVI. *Mr.* Pegge's *Remarks on the Bones of Fowls found in* Chriſtchurch Twynham, Hampſhire. *In a Letter to the Secretary.* 414

ARCHAE-

DIRECTIONS for the PLATES.

I. II.	Antiquities in South Wales, —	Page 6. 15
III.	Modes of Building, — —	82
IV.	Seal of Ranulph Earl of Chester, —	120
V.	Lincoln Cathedral, — —	150
	Views of Pompeii, — — VI.	160
	VII.	162
	VIII. IX.	163
	X.	164
	XI.	165
	XII.	168
	XIII.	169
	XIV. XV.	170
	XVI. XVII.	171
	XVIII.	173
XIX.	Worsley's Seal, — —	176
XX.	Apamean Medal, — —	331
XXI.	St. Mary-hill Coins, &c. — —	357
	Plans and Elevations of Castles, XXII.	388
	XXIII.	392
	XXIV.	396
	XXV.	402

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &c.

I. *A further Account of ſome Remains of* Roman *and other Antiquities in or near the County of* Brecknock *in* South Wales. *By* John Strange, *Eſq*;

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 17, and June 9, 1774.

Eſt quodam prodire tenus, ſi non datur ultra.
HORAT. Epiſt. Lib. I. i. 32.

THOUGH many circumſtances particularly favour the reſearches of the early Antiquaries in all countries; yet the attempts of the latter are not altogether uſeleſs, and deſerve the more encouragement, as they are commonly attended with

greater difficulties. The approbation, therefore, which this learned Society was pleaſed to ſhow to my former account of ſome remains of Roman and other Antiquities in Brecknockſhire, encourages me to communicate ſome further remarks of the like nature, which were either omitted in that account, or have occurred to me ſince the communication of it.

IN my former paper [*a*] I expreſſed a diffidence of the opinion generally received among the learned, that the principality of Wales ſupplied very few remains of Roman Antiquities. Among other reaſons that occurred to make this opinion of little weight with me, the principal was, that, as far as I could learn, no diligent reſearches of this kind had ever been made in the country by Antiquaries themſelves. Gyraldus Cambrenſis confined his inquiries principally to Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, and was ſo indifferent to the reſt, that at Nangle, near Bangeſton, in Pembrokeſhire, where he was vicar, there are ſtill ſome very conſiderable remains, which are totally unknown. Perhaps this learned man was influenced in his inquiries by archbiſhop Baldwin, whom he attended in the Tour of Wales. But I am rather inclined to think, that the ſame byaſs of ſuperſtition, which directed our early archaeological writers in general, laid hold of him alſo, and deprived us of the advantages we might otherwiſe have reaped from his talents. Lhwyd, who has been the only formal inquirer ſince Gyraldus's time, though a native of Wales, and a man of diſtinguiſhed learning and abilities, yet ſeems to have depended more upon the faith of others, than upon his own obſervations, as I have already obſerved, and is evident enough from the imperfect account he has given of the Roman camp at the *Gaer* near Brecknock,

[*a*] Printed in the firſt vol. p. 292.

and of *Maen y Morinnion*, or the maiden ſtone, near the *Gaer*, which he does not admit to be Roman, though the fragment of a Roman inſcription engraved upon it in good characters is ſtill legible. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the ſame name, *Maen y Morinnion*, has been given to other ſimilar monumental ſtones in different parts [*b*], whatever may be the reaſon of it. It has alſo been a notion with other Antiquaries, though with as little foundation, that few, if any, Roman remains were to be ſeen beyond Exeter. The ſame prejudice ſeems therefore to have been extended to the whole weſtern part of our iſland. Nor is this extraordinary, if we conſider its diſtance from the capital, and the wild, mountainous, and barren nature of the countries themſelves. For, notwithſtanding ſome veſtiges of the Romans in thoſe parts, which have the ſanction of the Itineraries, and have long ſince been acknowledged by the more reputed Antiquaries, it was reaſonable enough to imagine, that countries, ſo ſituated, ſhould hardly afford thoſe marks of ſettlement, which peculiarly characterize the more fertile, habitable, and leſs remote provinces: and ſuch a perſuaſion might naturally enough prevent, in general, any further inquiries. Another ſource of prejudice on this ſubject ſeems to flow from the too rigid attention uſually paid to the itineraries: inſomuch that ſome have thought it ſuperfluous to look for a ſtation out of their direction. Others again have even imagined, that there were ſcarcely any more than the four great Roman roads through this iſland, notwithſtanding the many Roman camps in it, which are ſituated wide of theſe roads. It appears from the *Notitia Imperii Occidentalis*, as well as from Ravennas the Monk, that the Romans had many

[*b*] Gordon's Iter Septentr. Part II. p. 62. pl. 59. Fig. 1, 2.

more fortified places and cities, in this iſland, than thoſe mentioned by Antoninus; and Richard the Monk alſo himſelf confeſſes, at the end of his *Diaphragmata*, that many Roman ſtations exiſted unnamed. For ſuch as lay out of the great roads, are of courſe ſeldom or never mentioned in the itineraries. But, ſurely, theſe reaſons ought rather to encourage our reſearches, eſpecially in thoſe parts which have been moſt neglected. In fact they encouraged me, and flattered me with the hopes of ſome diſcoveries of this kind in my journey through Wales. Little can indeed be expected from the fugitive reſearches of a traveller, let his curioſity and diligence be ever ſo great. It is to be hoped, however, that my endeavours will not be found altogether fruitleſs; and that they will, at leaſt, encourage other gentlemen, of more leiſure, and abilities, than myſelf, to make diſcoveries of greater importance. But it is time to turn to the ſubject of my preſent inquiries, which I ſhall ſtill confine to Brecknockſhire, and its neighbourhood, that I may not treſpaſs too far upon the indulgence which the Society is pleaſed to ſhew me.

IN the former paper, which I had the honour to communicate to this learned body, I mentioned the diſcovery of a Roman ſtation at *Cwm*, in the pariſh of *Llanier*, about a mile and a half northweſt of *Llandrindod*, near the river *Ithon* in Radnorſhire, on the borders of Brecknockſhire; which ſtation I then thought much more likely to be Bullaeum of Ptolemy, than either *Buahlt* or *Kaereu*, where I found no ſigns of the Romans. But I am ſtill more inclined to fix *Magnis* of Antoninus at *Cwm*; and for the following reaſons. Firſt, from its ſituation, which agrees well enough with the direction of the twelfth *iter*, to which *Magnis* belonged; and, ſecondly, from the diſtance between *Cwm* and *Abergavenny*,

Abergavenny, which, if taken in a ſtraight line, differs but little from the diſtance marked in the itinerary between *Gobannium* and *Magnis*, and which is twenty-two miles. At leaſt in theſe reſpects *Cwm* agrees much better with *Magnis*, than either Lidbury, where Baxter [*c*] would place, or old Radnor, where it is fixed by Burton [*d*]. Nor do I recollect to have obſerved any certain remains of Roman antiquities at either of theſe places; whereas the remains at *Cwm* are not only indiſputably of Roman origin, but very conſiderable. In inquiries of this kind it is very neceſſary to have a local knowledge of the countries in queſtion, ſince ſtations cannot eaſily be determined in the cloſet, like etymologies; and they, who have no other reliance, are commonly apt either to fall into miſtakes of their own, or to perpetuate thoſe of others. Baxter has already obſerved, that Camden confounds *Magnis* with *Magi*. *Cwm*, or rather *Combe*, in Saxon, ſignifies a valley between hills; which anſwers well enough to the ſituation of this place in the vale of *Ithon*.

I SHALL now beg leave to communicate to the Society ſome further particulars relating to the ſtation at *Cwm*, which I received ſome time ago from my intelligent and worthy friend Mr. Charles Powell of *Caſtlemadoc* in Brecknockſhire, who, at my requeſt, firſt favoured me with a circumſtantial account of it. This gentleman, by letter dated the ſixth of November 1769, writes to me in the following words: "I have ſince been "informed by Mr. Jones, who was born in the neighbourhood "of Llandrindod, that there are ſtill conſiderable remains of a "Roman road, or cauſeway, leading in a direct line from this "camp at *Cwm* towards *Buabit*. It is a raiſed way, between "thirty and forty feet wide, made on a deep, clayey, ſoil, with

[*c*] Gloſſar. voc. *Magnis*. [*d*] Anton. Itin. p. 251.

"large

" large pebbles and gravel, bound hard together. It is at " preſent overgrown with graſs." The ſame gentleman further ſays, that many Roman coins have been found at different times in the adjacent pariſhes. I ſhall here obſerve, that the other Roman roads in Wales are alſo made with pebbles; and Bergier [*e*] ſays, that all the Roman roads throughout Great Britain were *ex glarea factae.* It requires indeed leſs labour, as well to collect, as to employ, ſuch materials, in preference to others that require workmanſhip. But ſince the Romans were great in every undertaking, and never wanted hands in any, perhaps their choice might depend upon other motives; and the elder Pliny ſeems to aſſign a very probable one, when, ſpeaking upon this ſubject, he obſerves, that ſuch kind of materials are of greater reſiſtance; *globoſus lapis contra injurias fortis* [*f*].

RIDING over a high, open, and barren tract between *Caſtlemadock* and *Llanworthid* wells in the vale of *Irvon* in Brecknockſhire, I was informed, that, in different parts of it, there were alſo viſible remains of a Roman cauſeway lying nearly in a weſtern direction. Perhaps theſe remains may be parts of a Roman road that led to *Maridunum* or Caermarthen, the *caput Demetarum*, from the ſtations in and near Radnorſhire. Perhaps alſo this road joined another Roman road, which I ſuppoſe to have led from the *Gaer* near Brecknock along the valley weſtward, and ſo over Trecaſtle hill into the vale of *Llanimdovery* in Carmarthenſhire; a part of which road I likewiſe ſuppoſed, in my former account, to be the remnant obſerved at *Rhyd y Brew* bridge at the foot of Trecaſtle hill. For it is highly probable, that ſome road of communication

[*e*] De publicis et militaribus imperii Romani viis. Lib. ii. ſect. 30.
[*f*] Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxvi. capt. 22.

ſubſiſted

Fig. 1. p. 7.

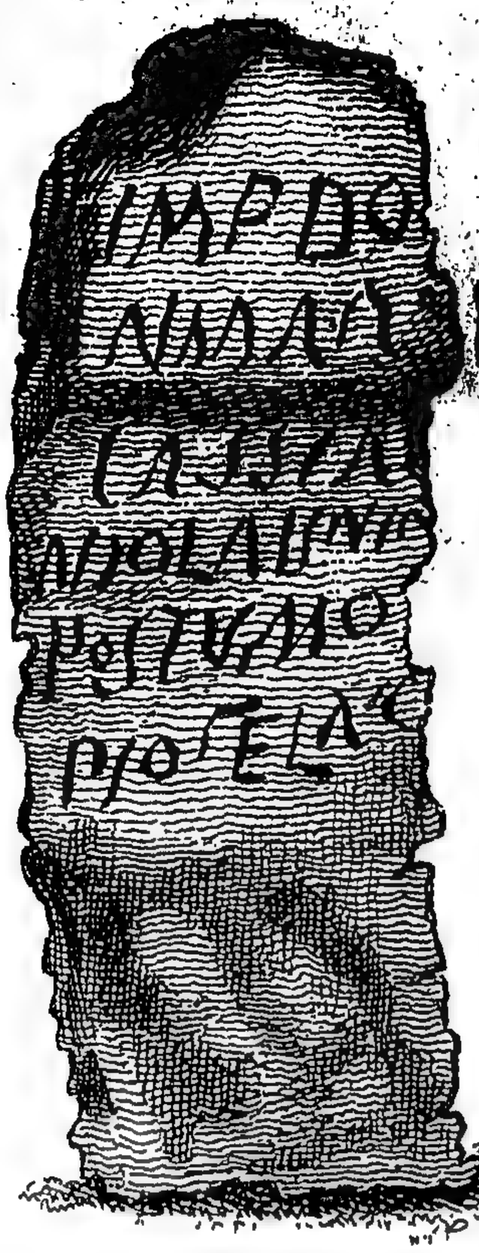


Fig. 2. p. 7.



Fig. 3. p. 8.



Fig. 5. p. 24.

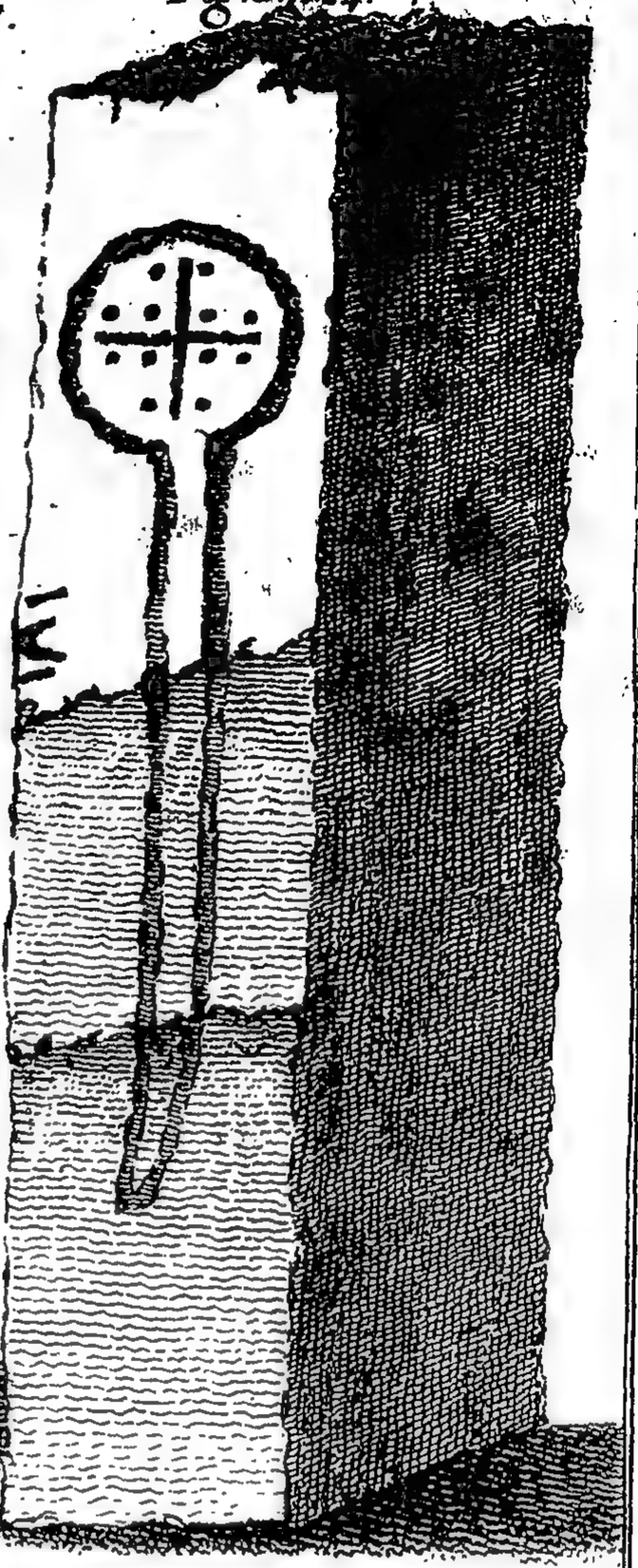


Fig. 4. p. 20.

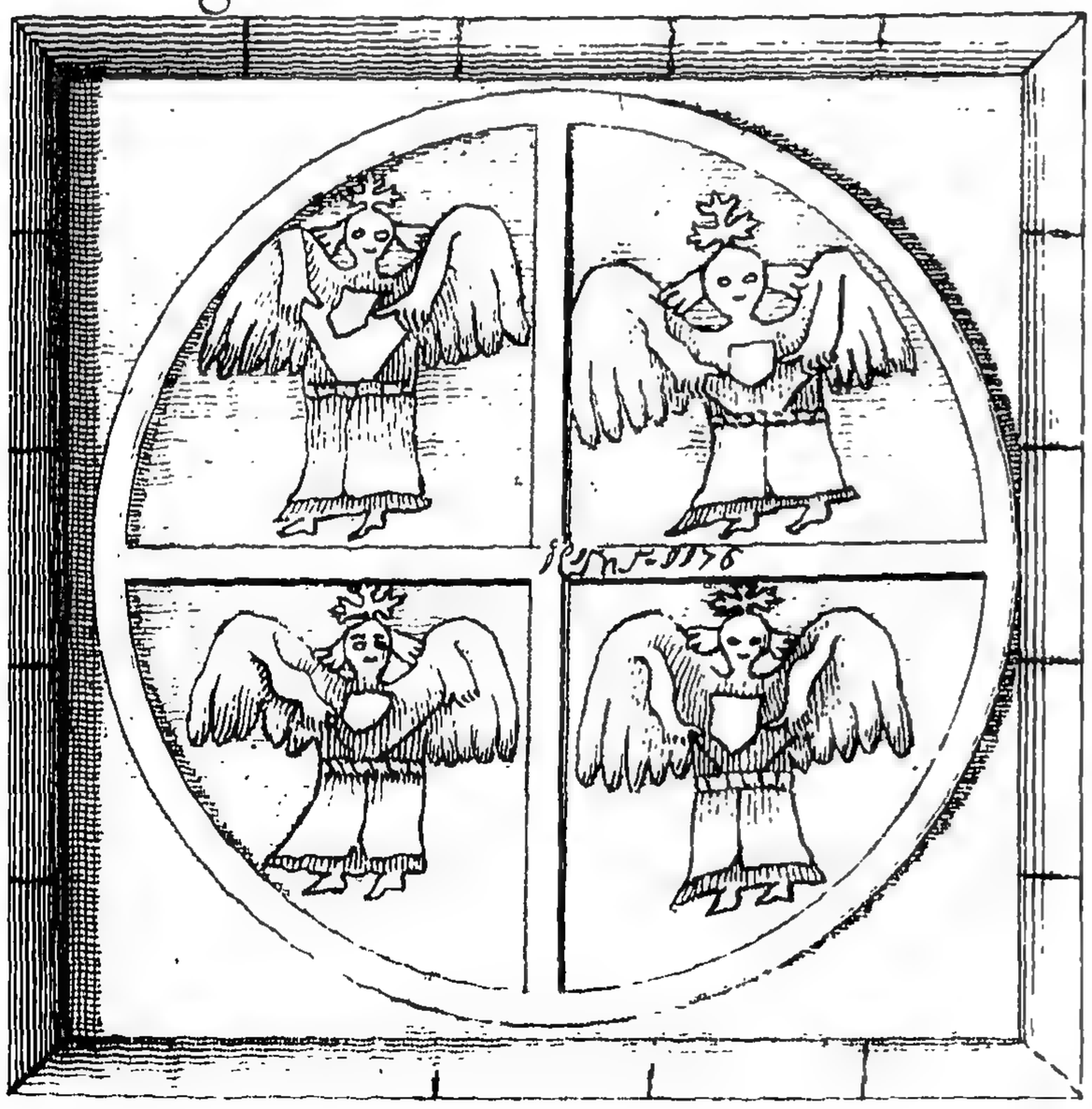
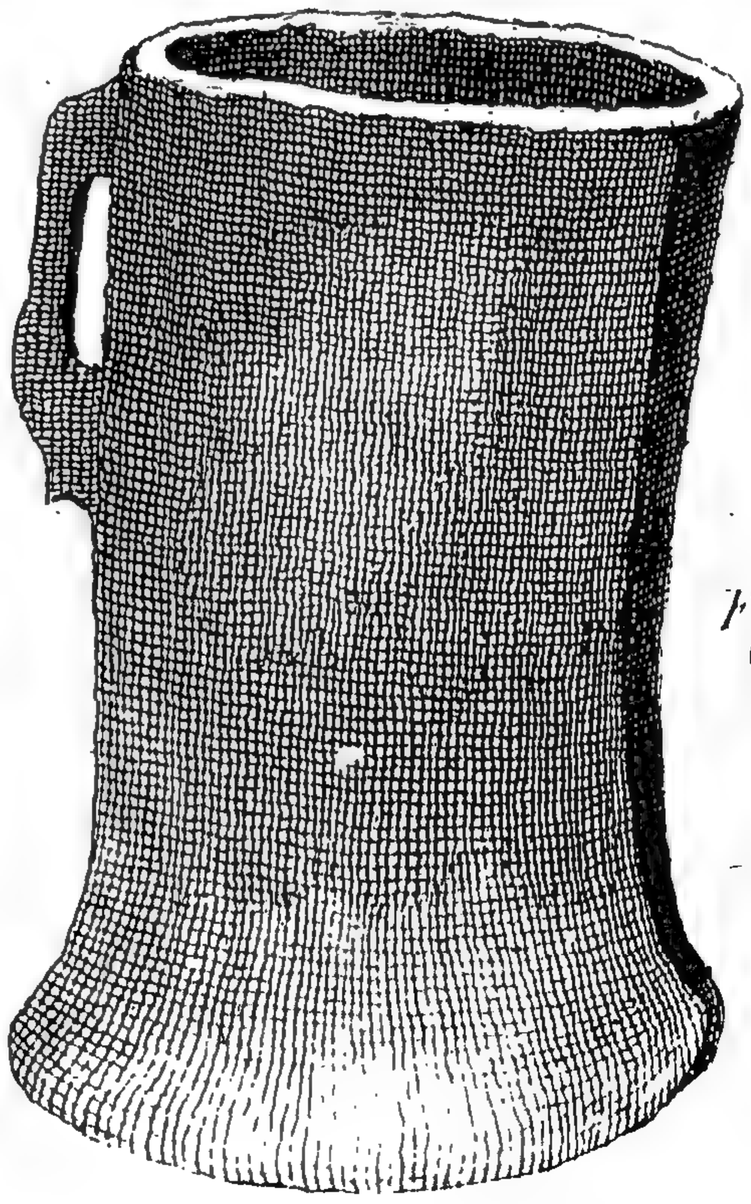


Fig. 6. p. 24.



ſubſiſted between the ſtations at the *Gaer* and *Cwm*, which were ſo near to each other, and *Maridunum*, which was the capital of the province to which they belonged; and in that caſe it is equally probable, that this road croſſed Trecaſtle hill, which not only lies directly in the way, but alſo affords the moſt convenient communication between the vales of Brecknock and Caermarthenſhire, in the latter of which *Maridunum* was ſituated. As a further proof of this opinion I ſhall here obſerve to the Society, that ſince the communication of my former account, a ſtone with a Roman inſcription engraved upon it has been dug up on the top of Trecaſtle hill. Mr. Charles Hay of Brecknock firſt informed me of this diſcovery, by letter dated February 20, 1770; and has ſince tranſmitted to me a repreſentation of the ſtone [*g*], with a copy of the inſcription engraved upon it, which I do myſelf the honour to preſent to the Society. Mr. Hay at the ſame time informed me, that this ſtone was found about two feet under ground, near a ſpot called the *Heath Cock*, in making the turnpike road over the hill in 1769, and has ſince been removed to *Llandilo* in Caermarthenſhire. In all probability it formerly ſtood by the ſide of the Roman road leading over this hill, as the ſtone at the *Gaer* likewiſe did by the ſide of the road leading to that ſtation, as I have before obſerved. I at the ſame time made mention of another ſtone, with the Roman characters MARC engraved upon it [*b*], which was alſo found by the ſide of the Roman road between *Capel Coelbryn* and *Mynidd Kirr*, or the long mountain; which road I ſuppoſe led from *Nidum*, or Neath, into Brecknockſhire. Another ſimilar remnant, apparently of Roman antiquity, though of the later times, has likewiſe been diſ-

[*g*] Plate I. Fig. 1.

[*b*] Plate I. Fig. 2.

covered,

covered, not long ſince, in the ſame neighbourhood, about a mile from *Yſtraedvelty*, in the croſs road leading from Brecknock over the mountains to Neath. It is a ſtone called *Maen Maddock* [*i*], which, from the inſcription engraved upon it, however rude, appears to have been ſepulchral, like *Maen y Morinnion*, or the maiden ſtone, at the *Gaer* near Brecknock; and though the inſcription is reverſed, yet the characters IC IACIT are eaſily made out. This ſtone alſo in all probability formerly ſtood by the ſide of the Roman road which I ſuppoſe to have traverſed this country. I am alſo indebted to Mr. Hay for this communication, as well as for the drawing of the ſtone, and copy of the inſcription. This gentleman at the ſame time informed me, that, in the neighbourhood of *Yſtraedvelty*, a gold coin of Veſpaſian *maximi moduli* had lately been found. It is at preſent in the poſſeſſion of a perſon near Neath. But to return to the Trecaſtle ſtone. Every one knows that it was the cuſtom of the Romans to bury their dead along the road ſide, as well as without the walls of their cities; nor is it otherwiſe accountable how the ſtone in queſtion ſhould be found in ſo inconvenient a ſpot as Trecaſtle hill, which is not only very high, but alſo wide of the habitable country. Mr. Hay obſerves, that this ſtone, which is a coarſe ſort of lime-ſtone, is flat on the ſide where the moſt imperfect part of the inſcription is engraved, and round on the other, tapering of courſe towards the edges, and the thickeſt part ſcarcely meaſures three inches. As to the inſcription, I leave it to ſpeak for itſelf, part of it being ſufficiently intelligible, though the characters are not very good. I alſo ſuppoſed in my former account of Brecknockſhire, that the Roman cauſeway leading from *Mynid Kerr* or the long mountain to *Capel Coelbryn*, joined the other, which I imagine

[*i*] Plate I. Fig. 3.

to

to have led from the *Gaer* to *Rhyd y Briw* bridge; by which means a communication was opened from *Nidum*, or Neath, and the coaſt of Glamorganſhire, to the different ſtations in Brecknockſhire, Radnorſhire, and the neighbouring parts of South Wales. But theſe are only conjectures, which, however juſtifiable, are rather meant to excite the curioſity and inquiries of others, than offered as remarks of weight.

THOUGH the Roman roads commonly lie in parallel, and perpendicular, directions, yet they ſometimes deviated conſiderably, where circumſtances required it. Thus the Neath road, which, as I have before obſerved [*i*], continues in a ſtraight line, from the little valley near *Capel Coelbryn*, to the long mountain, takes a ſweep round the ſide of this mountain, which interrupts its direct courſe. In the ſame manner the Erming Street, juſt without Mr. Noel's paddock at Walcote in Northamptonſhire, in a large common field, makes a conſiderable round, merely to comply with a natural ridge of the ground [*k*]. I alſo obſerved, that the Neath road is partly over boggy ground; but it appears to have been raiſed there, and the earth, or peat, firſt dug up, or removed, to make way for better materials, according to the method followed by the Romans in making their roads in ſuch ground [*l*]. The materials uſed in the Neath road are chiefly large pebbles collected from the neighbouring hills, or torrents. This elevation, or *dorſum elatum*, as Antiquaries call it, is juſtly eſteemed to be the beſt evidence of a Roman road, and is very probably a reaſon why the name of *high* ſtreet is ſo often given to the old Roman cauſeways in this iſland, as

[*i*] Account of Brecknockſhire. Archaeologia, vol. I. p. 298.
[*k*] Archaeologia, vol. I. Art. xiv. pag. 62.
[*l*] Bergier, lib. cit. cap. xvi. and Statii Sylv. de via Domitiana.

Horſley [*m*] has already obſerved. But it is alſo remarkable, in moſt countries, that the Romans commonly preferred the higher ground, where they conveniently could, *caeteris paribus*. No country, perhaps, affords a more noble inſtance of the efforts of the Romans, in making theſe raiſed cauſeways, than our Fens, where we ſtill ſee conſiderable traces of one, whoſe *agger* is three feet thick, and ſixty broad. This was made, at the expence of vaſt labour, to open a communication between the countries to the South and North of theſe fens, and is particularly mentioned by the accurate and laborious Dugdale in his account of draining the fens. Another ſimilar work, but of greater import, was alſo cuſtomary with the Romans in ſuch kind of low, ſwampy, ground; I mean the artificial foundations, moſtly of brickwork, which they made to build upon in ſuch ſituations, and which, if I miſtake not, are, by Vitruvius, ſtyled *ſtatumina*. Marſhes of great extent were covered by them, and perhaps cities built upon them. Very conſiderable remains of this ſort of work are ſtill ſeen in a marſhy bottom between Metz and Straſburg, particularly at *Marſal*, and *Moyenvick*, about ten leagues ſoutheaſt of Metz in Lorraine. Mr. d'Arteze de la Sauvagere, a French officer, and engineer, has given a curious account of theſe remains, in a ſmall, and ſcarce, pamphlet, printed at Paris in 1740 in 8vo: [*n*] under the following title, *Recherches ſur la nature et l'etendue d'un ancien ouvrage des Romains appellé communenent Briquetage de Marſal*, &c. It will not be foreign to the preſent purpoſe briefly to mention the leading particulars of this account, more eſpecially as I believe it to be the only authentic and circumſtantial one upon this curious ſubject.

THE *Briquetage de Marſal* is a large and ſolid maſs of brickwork, that extends horizontally under the town of Marſal, and

[*m*] Brit. Roman. Book iii. cap. 2.

[*n*] Reprinted in his Récueil d'Antiqnites dans les Gaules, Par. 1770. 4to.

without

without the ſouth weſt ſide of it, at various depths below the ſurface of the ground. In one place only, without the town, where the earth has been removed to make a dike, it is openly viſible; but in general, it lies below the ſurface, from ſeven and eight to ten, and eleven feet, and immediately under the town even at the depth of twenty-two feet. This difference is owing to the extraordinary elevation of the grouhd, which is known to be very conſiderable in all towns, from the accumulated ruins in them, and other accidental cauſes. At the ſame depth of twenty-two feet, and within the town, in digging the foundations of a convent, an earthen vaſe was found, with the Roman characters CASSIVS. F. ſtampt upon it, together with a regular range of ſix oval furnaces, erected immediately upon the brick work, and which, from the verdigreaſe, and pieces of copper, found about them, appear to have ſerved for the melting of that ore. From theſe circumſtances, and from other conſiderable remains of Roman Antiquities, which have been found in that neighbourhood, particularly at *Tarquinpole*, a ſmall village near *Marſal*, it ſeems reaſonable enough to ſuppoſe, that the *Briquetage de Marſal* is alſo a Roman work. It appears to be a compoſition of bricks, or rather burnt earths, of various ſhapes and ſize, confuſedly heaped together, without any mortar or other cement originally employed to unite them. But this rubbiſh having been thrown at firſt upon a bed of glutinous mud, or *vaſe gluante*, as the author calls it, and ſince expoſed for ages to the ſucceſſive depoſitions of a ſimilar adventitious matter, ſuper-added to its ſurface by inundations, and other natural, though ſecondary, cauſes; the interſtices between have been gradually filled up with the finer parts of this matter, which, petrifying, has cemented the whole into one ſolid maſs. The original materials uſed for this work hardly deſerve the

name of bricks, being not formed in moulds, but, to all appearance, worked by hand, in all kinds of ſhapes, but moſtly irregular, and ſometimes even plaiſtered to pieces of wood. The more regular forms are either conical, cylindrical, or parallelipepid. Nor is it uncommon to ſee on the ſurface of them regular prints, or impreſſions, of the hand, or fingers, which manifeſtly appear to have been made on purpoſe, though, I ſuppoſe, out of wantonneſs. From the diſcoveries hitherto made, the *Briquetage de Marſal* appears to occupy a ſurface of about 192,000 French *toiſes*. Another conſiderable, and equally ſolid, maſs, of the ſame ſort of work, extends, alſo horizontally, under, and near, *Moyenvic*, a ſmall town about half a league South Weſt of *Marſal*, in the ſame valley. This meaſures about 110,000 *toiſes*. A remnant of a third maſs, though of little conſideration, has alſo been diſcovered at *Burtacour*, a ſmall village near *Vic*, about two leagues from *Marſal*, in the ſame direction, South Weſt, and ſituated in the ſame valley. It is imagined, that the whole of theſe works was formerly of much greater extent; but it is difficult to determine whether any, or all, of the ſeparate maſſes juſt deſcribed, ever united, ſo as to form one entire body. It has alſo been imagined, that the *Briquetage de Marſal* might have ſerved originally for a cauſeway, or aqueduct. But the ſingularity of its ſtructure and form, and particularly its extraordinary width, ſufficiently contradict thoſe opinions. Though no plauſible conjectures have been offered concerning the intent of this work, yet, in all probability, it was deſigned for the purpoſe of ſome ſuperſtructure or other, at leaſt in part; and the furnaces before mentioned are in fact a proof of it. I doubt not but the remains of other buildings would be found, upon a more ſuitable reſearch; the furnaces having been diſcovered by mere accident; and Mr. de la Sauvagere having,

as I ſuppoſe, only bored, or ſounded, in the common way, to aſcertain the extent and direction of the *Briquetage*. However, ſuch a maſs of brick-work, ſuſpended, as it were, between two moraſſes, is alone a matter of no ſmall curioſity. But it is time to leave this digreſſion and return to my ſubject.

Horsley obſerves [*o*], that the raiſed Roman ways are often ſunk, and inſtances one near Blackſtone edge in Yorkſhire, and another between Tine and Read in Northumberland, which he ſays is ſunk many feet. Biſhop Burnet [*p*] alſo concludes, that the famous *via Appia*, between Rome and Naples, had ſunk, from obſerving it to be perfectly level with the ground on each ſide, and ſuppoſing that it muſt originally have been made higher. I recollect to have been equally ſurprized at this equality of the *via Appia* with the ground on each ſide of it; which I, however, attribute to a different cauſe from that aſſigned by the learned Biſhop. It is very evident, that partial depreſſions or ſubſidences of the ground under weights do frequently happen in particular ſpots; but that the *via Appia*, or any other cauſeway, ſhould ſubſide uniformly in a long tract, and on different qualities of ſoil, is very improbable. Is it not more agreeable to reaſon and obſervation, to attribute the apparent ſubſidence of theſe cauſeways to the gradual elevation of the ground on each ſide of them? Since it is very well known that, in all low and level ſituations particularly, there is a continual increaſe of adventitious matter ſuperadded to the ſurface, from various ſecondary cauſes, which it is not neceſſary to conſider at preſent. This opinion, in which, however, Naturaliſts, as well as Antiquaries, do not always agree, ſeems to be ſufficiently proved by the actual ſtate of the *Briquetage de Marſal*,

[*o*] Briſ. Rom. loc. cit.

[*p*] Travels; Lett. 4.

which

which I have juſt deſcribed. Nor are other proofs wanting, of the like nature, and equally demonſtrative. None perhaps are more ſatisfactory than thoſe which may be collected from the hiſtory of the different *ſtrata* under the town of Modena in Italy, in Ramazzini's excellent treatiſe *De Fontium Mutinenſium admiranda ſcaturigine*.

IT is of no ſmall advantage to Antiquaries, that the Romans ſo often fixed upon high, open, dry and barren ſpots, which being moſtly either neglected, or left for paſture only, the remains of Antiquity upon them are not only more eaſily found, but are commonly in better preſervation than among encloſures and in cultivated countries, where they are continually expoſed to ſuffer from various cauſes. Thus the Neath cauſeway before mentioned remains almoſt intire, as far as the open, barren, heath continues, between the *Long mountain*, and the little valley near *Capel Coelbryn*, where it is immediately loſt among the encloſures. Nor is it the plough only that waſtes theſe venerable remains in cultivated countries; but as ſuch are of courſe more inhabited, the remains in them are more liable to be deſtroyed, and their materials carried away, and employed for the purpoſes of modern roads and buildings. Beſides, ſuch countries, from their ſituation, and the richneſs of the ſoil, are commonly more expoſed to damps, and conſequently the buildings in them to a more ſpeedy and natural decay.

FROM the obſervations already made it appears then, that the twelfth *iter* of Antoninus was not the only Roman road that paſſed through this part of South Wales and its neighbourhood; but that, on the contrary, there were ſeveral other roads of communication, the remains of which are ſtill viſible, and, in ſome parts, conſiderable: and had we not the manifeſt Roman ſtations of the *Gaer*, and *Cwm*, in this neighbourhood, the frequent

Fig. 2.

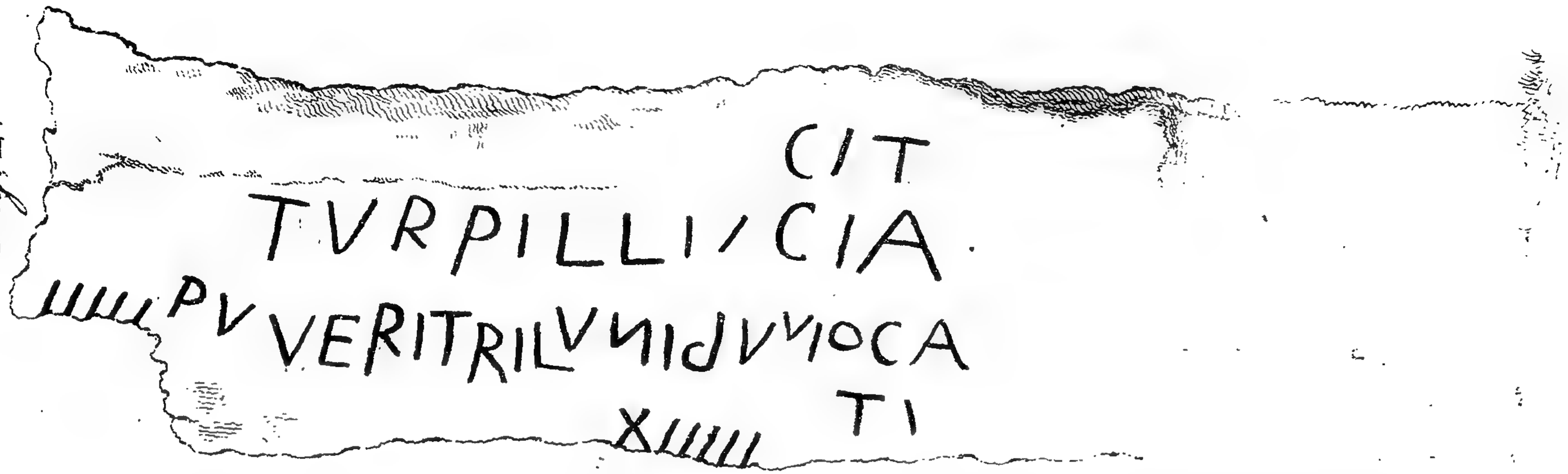

CIT
TVRPILLI/CIA.
PV VERITRILVNIDVNIOCA
XIIII TI

Fig. 1.


NI/TRNI]RLVIF VRCTCRINI

frequent veſtiges of theſe raiſed cauſeways would alone be ſufficient marks of the Romans, ſuch kinds of works being ſo peculiar to them. Nor do any of theſe veſtiges ſeem to have belonged to other Roman roads, which are ſuppoſed to have entered and croſſed Wales; as, for inſtance, the road, that Gale [*q*], Higden [*r*], and other writers, ſuppoſe to have led from Shropſhire to Cardigan, and which Higden pretends, though with little foundation, to have been even a part of the Great Watling Street leading from Dover. But as the road mentioned by theſe writers probably lay to the North of Radnorſhire and Brecknockſhire, it does not properly belong to our preſent inquiries. Be that as it may, theſe counties ſeem to have their ſhare of Roman Antiquities; and the diſcoveries which have preſented themſelves to me, upon a curſory view of them only, are ſurely ſufficient to invalidate Baxter's remark, who, including Brecknockſhire and Radnorſhire among the *Demetae*, adds, *cum in his vix ulla ſint Romanarum arcium veſtigia, unde conſtat eas Pecuarias fuiſſe Silurum.*

DURING my ſtay in Brecknockſhire I viſited the cylindrical ſtone pillar at Skethrog, mentioned by Lhwyd [*s*]. It ſtands in the pariſh of *Llanſanfrayd*, about four miles from Brecknock, in the way to *Crickhowel*, and meaſures about three feet and a half in height above the ground, in which it is fixed by the road ſide like a mile ſtone. The inſcription is engraved upon it lengthwiſe, from the upper to the lower part of the ſtone, and ſtill continues viſible, though the characters are very rude. From the annexed accurate repreſentation of it [*t*] there does not ap-

[*q*] Comment. on Anton. Itin. p. 56.
[*r*] Polichron. lib. i. cap. de plateis Regalibus, p. 196. Ed. Gale.
[*s*] Camden's *Britannia*, 2d Ed. vol. ii. p. 707.
[*t*] Plate II. Fig. 1.

pear

pear to be ſo much difference in the form of the characters, as Lhwyd makes in his copy of this inſcription; particularly between the word VICTORINI and the preceding letters. I ſhall not pretend to decypher the former part of this inſcription, which is rather obſcure; but muſt obſerve that the name *Victorinus* was well known in Britain towards the latter end of the Roman empire. Coins of the emperor of that name, with the reverſes *Pax Aug.* and *Salus Aug.* are alſo commonly found in our iſland, with thoſe of the other lower emperors.

NOT far from *Llanſanfrayd* is the famous Brecon Meer, or Lake, where Camden ſuppoſes the old city *Loventium* ſtood; ſince Ptolemy places it in this neighbourhood, and our great archaeologiſt had no proofs to fix it elſewhere. But this opinion does not appear to reſt upon any other authority, than the general notion, which prevails among the country people, that a city formerly ſtood on the ſpot now covered by the Lake, the formation of which they refer, as I ſuppoſe, to the ſame earthquake, which, according to their account, ſwallowed up this city. But notwithſtanding Camden's apparent aſſent to this notion, it ſeems to be a mere fable; and ſuch are applied alſo, with as little foundation, to other lakes in Wales, and are common enough in the opinion of the vulgar in moſt countries. And though ſome deference be due to popular notions, as they have commonly a remote or indirect foundation in truth; yet I cannot account for this perſuaſion reſpecting lakes, unleſs it proceeds from their not being all *ab origine*, but, on the contrary, many of them of recent and ſucceſſive formation, from various ſecondary cauſes, as earthquakes, the fall of mountains, &c.

THIS opinion indeed is agreeable enough to the appearances of nature in the ſuperficial ſtructure of our earth, and is avowedly true as to the origin of many lakes in different parts of the world,

world, even within our memory. Among many others, the well-known inſtance of *Plurs*, in the Griſons, is very remarkable, and particularly intereſts the point in queſtion. For the fall of the ſame mountain, which in 1618 buried that town under its ruins, ſtopping at the ſame time the courſe of a ſmall river, has formed a lake in its ſtead. The old town of *Chiavenna*, which was ſituated in the ſame valley, and near Plurs, was alſo deſtroyed by a ſimilar accident. Biſhop Burnet, in his travels, gives an account of both theſe cataſtrophes. In 1714 another lake was alſo formed, in the ſame manner, by the fall of Mount *Diableret*, on the confines of the *Valais* within the canton of Bern in Switzerland, as I have myſelf obſerved. Monſ. de Liſle has recorded this event in his map of Switzerland, fixing a volcano at the ſpot where it happened, though I could find no ſigns of an eruption thereabouts. Mount Diableret itſelf conſiſts of a common blue lime-ſtone, with white veins of ſpar, and its ruins, which, after having formed a ſmall lake, cover a ſteep narrow valley to the diſtance of half a league, do not appear to have ſuffered in the leaſt from fire. This accident may therefore more probably be attributed to a ſubterraneous rarefied vapour, and exploſion, *abſque flammis*, like that of *Plurs*, to all appearance, and many other events of the like nature in theſe mountainous countries. The part of Switzerland which I have juſt mentioned is particularly ſubject to them. Spon, in the third book of his hiſtory of Geneva, mentions another very remarkable fall of a mountain, which happened in 1584 near *Aigle* in the ſame neighbourhood, and by which the two villages of *Corbery* and *Yvorgne* were intirely deſtroyed, with moſt of their inhabitants. But I could find no ſigns of fire in thoſe parts; and the ſame has been aſſured me by Mr. Haller of Bern, who was formerly governor of the pro-

vince of Aigle, and reſided there many years. A remarkable natural production is, however, peculiar to the mountains of that country, and accounts in great meaſure for ſuch accidents, as well as for the frequent earthquakes which are known to happen there. Sulphur is frequently found, in its virgin ſtate, incorporated with the lime-ſtone and ſpar, of which theſe mountains are moſtly formed. I mention this from my own knowledge, having collected ſpecimens on the ſpot. I ſhall further beg leave to obſerve here, that I have never ſeen, nor heard of, any common *lava*, pumice ſtones, or other igneous concretions, in other parts of Switzerland, where ſuch accidents have happened, as they frequently have done; nor elſewhere in that country; nor in the Tyrol; and I am perſuaded, from my obſervations in thoſe parts, that the ſame holds good with reſpect to the Griſons, and the remaining part of the chain of the *higher* Alps in general; which is ſomewhat extraordinary, conſidering, that, in other parts of the globe, it is principally in the higheſt mountains, where volcanos moſtly abound. The Andes afford as remarkable inſtances in this particular, differing widely from our Alps; unleſs granite, porphyry, and other *ſimilar* vitrifiable *compound* ſtones, *ſaxa compoſita* Cronſtedt, *ſaxa aggregata* Wallerii *et* Linnaei, which conſtitute the higher mountains of this chain, are to be conſidered as *igneous* concretions, as I am firmly of opinion they ought to be, having very ſtrong proofs in favour of it, was this the proper occaſion to offer them.

HAVING mentioned the ſtone pillar and inſcription at *Sketbrog*, I ſhall alſo take notice of another much of the ſame kind which I found about ten miles beyond *Elanſanfrayd*, near the ſame road, and a mile to the north-eaſt of *Crickhowel*, in a field belonging to Mr. John Powel of *Llangenny*. It is a large

flat ſtone [*t*] about ſix feet long, and two feet broad, with an inſcription engraved upon it lengthwiſe in characters much reſembling thoſe upon the ſtone at *Skethrog*. The names *Turpilius* and *Turpilianus*, to the former of which this inſcription ſeems rather to refer, were alſo well known towards the decline of the Roman power in this iſland, as we learn from Tacitus [*u*], and other writers. No inſcription, however rude in its form, ſhould, I preſume, be neglected in inquiries of this nature. I was therefore deſirous to preſerve this alſo from oblivion, but ſhall not attempt to decypher it, though I can anſwer for the exactneſs of the copy. This inſcription appears however imperfect; and the ſtone, upon which it is engraved, ſeems to have been removed from ſome other ſpot, as it now lies neglected by the ſide of a ploughed field. Remains of this kind are indeed but too much neglected in all countries, nor are we more attentive than our neighbours in the preſervation of them; as is evident from the unſucceſsful reſearches of Horſley after many of thoſe mentioned by Camden. There are beſides upon the ſummit of a very high mountain, a little to the eaſtward of *Llangenny*, plain veſtiges of a circular trench, cut in a ſolid rock of moorſtone, and which I ſhould be inclined to think a Roman work; eſpecially as the ſtone, upon which the before-mentioned inſcription is engraved, and which I take to be Roman, though of the latter times, ſeems to have been hewn from this rock, appearing to be of the ſame kind.

From theſe gleanings of Roman antiquities collected in and near Brecknockſhire in this imperfect manner, I think there is little reaſon to doubt, but that, upon further and more regular reſearches, other more important diſcoveries of the ſame nature might ſtill be made. Nor can I help flattering myſelf with

[*t*] Plate II. Fig. 2.

[*u*] In vita Agricolae.

the hopes of them, from the induſtry, and laudable ſpirit of inquiry, that particularly diſtinguiſh the gentlemen of that county. I ſhall conclude the preſent, as I did my former paper on the ſame ſubject, by an account of ſome other more modern remains of antiquity, but of a different kind, which have alſo occurred to my notice.

IN one of my excurſions during my ſtay in Brecknockſhire, I obſerved on the porch of a very old houſe ſituated at lower *Trevecca*, not far from *Talgarth*, in this county, a ſquare ſtone carved in bas relief, that much engaged my attention; chiefly on account of the ſingularity of the date marked upon it. Mr. Hay of Brecknock, to whoſe attention and ingenuity we are much obliged, and whoſe curioſity I am pleaſed to have thus excited, favoured me afterwards with a drawing of this ſtone; which I have alſo the honour to preſent to the Society [*w*]. From the letter, that accompanied it, I collect, in part, the following particulars concerning the original. The houſe, to which it belongs, is conſidered as one of the oldeſt in the county, and is thought to have formerly ſerved for ſome religious purpoſe, as it actually does for a charitable one, being devoted and endowed as a college for the education of twelve youths. In the inſide of it are alſo ſeen ſome curious and very ancient carvings in wood, which, as tradition is ſilent about them, the good people of the neighbourhood readily attribute to the Romans. Such notions concerning the obſcure remains of antiquity are commonly prevalent in all countries, where the Romans have once had a footing; and the preſent inſtance, among many others, proves at leaſt, that their memory is not yet quite loſt in Brecknockſhire; if indeed they do not rather by this name mean the Roman Catholics. The

[*w*] Plate I. Fig. 4.

carved

carved ſtone in queſtion, excluſive of the jointed frame or border round it, is about three feet ſquare, and is ſunk near two inches into the front wall of the porch of the houſe. The bas relief upon it is worked very ſmooth, and ſcarcely raiſed above a quarter of an inch from the ſurface of the ſtone, and the whole appears ſo freſh, and in ſuch excellent preſervation, that I hardly think it can have been always expoſed to the air, but has been removed from within doors, and probably out of the ſame houſe, at the front of which it is now fixed. This bas relief conſiſts of a circle, which is divided by two croſs-bars into four equal parts, in each of which is repreſented, in a very Gothic ſtyle of ſculpture, a winged figure, reſembling thoſe commonly given to angels, but very different from them in reſpect to its attributes. Each of theſe figures, which I ſuppoſe, however, were meant for angels, ſeems to be clothed in a ſort of friar's habit girded round the middle; and having a bib or apron, or ſomething like it above the girdle. Each has a croſs florée upon its head, beſides flowing locks. Each figure alſo bears a plain eſcutcheon on its breaſt, and ſeems to ſupport it by the girdle of the mantle beneath. The particular explanation of ſimilar remains of antiquity is ever attended with more or leſs difficulty, and is often of very little import; the cuſtoms of every country, even in the more enlightened ages, carrying with them conſtantly ſome marks of prejudice, or ignorance, that are either unaccountable in themſelves, or little deſerving of our attention. For whatever purpoſe this ſtone may have been originally intended, it is manifeſt, that the four figures carved upon it were meant to be perfectly ſimilar to each other in attitude as well as in attributes and attire. At the interſection of the two croſs-bars near the middle is marked in rude and unequal, but very legible, characters, the following

inſcription

inſcription and date; *Feſas* 1176. The early period of this inſcription excited my curioſity much more than the bas relief itſelf however curious. It is, I preſume, well known to the learned members of this Society that moſt of theſe ſuppoſed early dates in Arabick figures prior to the thirteenth century, ſeveral accounts of which are to be found in the Philoſophical Tranſactions [x], have ſince been proved ſpurious by that very learned and critical Antiquary Profeſſor Ward of Greſham college. The arguments advanced by him in his examination of the Helmdon, Colcheſter, and Widgell hall dates, as well as of the two Arabian dates from Ireland, and of that from Brimpton in Berkſhire (which arguments it is unneceſſary here to repeat), ſeem indeed concluſive, and give us juſt reaſon to doubt the authenticity of all dates preceding the thirteenth century, whether on coins, inſcriptions, or manuſcripts. Nor am I inclined to except that from Brecknockſhire in queſtion, notwithſtanding the plain form and intelligibility of the numerals. For there is the ſame objection againſt the figure 6 in this date, as profeſſor Ward makes in reſpect to the ſame figure in that diſcovered at Widgell hall in Hertfordſhire. Nor can the third figure in the date before us be admitted as a 7, according to the table of characters publiſhed by the learned profeſſor upon the above occaſion; ſince there is no figure in that table of a ſimilar form, excepting the ſecond in Roger Bacon's calendar, according to which this date would ſtand for 1126, and be ſeven years older than that of Helmdon in Northamptonſhire. It is alſo further remarkable, that the two firſt figures of 1, in the Brecknockſhire date, are of a different form from any that repreſent the ſame numeral in profeſſor Ward's table. But they reſemble the ſame numerals in the date 1011 from Rumſey

[x] N° 439. 459. 475. 490.

church

church in Hampſhire, deſcribed by the reverend Mr. Barlow in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 459, ſuppoſing thoſe numerals, however, to be inverted. Moſt of the dates examined and confuted by the learned profeſſor are of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and ſpeaking of thoſe of Helmdon, Colcheſter, and Widgell hall in particular, he obſerves, that none of them were uſed in this kingdom till a hundred years after the reading given to the lateſt of them, which is that of Helmdon of 1133. Examining alſo the Worceſter date, which is earlier than any of the former, being as is pretended 975, and objecting to the figure 7 in it for the reaſons before-mentioned, he very juſtly obſerves that, as the Arabian figures are eaſily falſified, too great caution cannot be uſed in admitting any inſtances of them more early than have been hitherto diſcovered, but upon very clear and ſufficient evidence. As to the Brecknockſhire date, the original figures of it are not only plainly legible, but very diſtinct, and the copy of them has been taken with the greateſt exactneſs; nor can any other reading than that before offered be given to it, conſiſtent with the original inſcription. But ſince this date cannot be admitted according to profeſſor Ward's weighty arguments, we muſt either ſuppoſe ſome involuntary or wilful miſtake in the original. Nor does ſuch a ſuppoſition ſeem improbable, if we conſider the ſingularity in the forms of the two firſt figures, repreſenting the numeral 1, and the wide difference between them and the two laſt, which repreſent the numeral 7 and 6. For the former figures are quite uncommon, as I have before obſerved, while the latter perfectly reſemble the modern ſynonymous numerals, which they repreſent. I ſhall not pretend to make any further remarks on this date, nor upon the bas relief that accompanies it, ſuppoſing

that

that both might appear as curious to this learned Society as to myſelf.

HAVING been rather long upon this article, for which we are certainly indebted to the Catholic times, I ſhall dwell the leſs on another, which appears to be of the ſame claſs. The drawing, which I have now the honour to preſent to the Society, repreſents a ſquare figured ſtone [*y*], found ſtanding upright at *Pen y Mynidd* in the neighbourhood of *Yſtraedvelty* in Brecknockſhire. The name of this ſpot ſufficiently denotes the nature of its ſituation; *Pen* ſignifying *head* or *chief*, and *Mynidd*, *mountain*; and *Pen y Mynidd*, is the name of an elevation near *Yſtraedvelty*.

THIS ſtone is marked with a croſs cut in a ſmall ſemicircular ſort of channel or groove, each bar of the croſs having beſides on either ſide a parallel range of dots or points. What the remaining marks on this ſtone can mean I ſhall not pretend to determine. Mr. Hay at the ſame time communicated to me another drawing of a celt of metal, ſeemingly braſs, which was found under a cromlech near *Keven Hirr Vynidd*, on the borders of Brecknockſhire [*z*].

AT the end of my former paper on Brecknockſhire [*a*] I gave the deſcription of a flat monumental ſtone found in *Llandavailog* church-yard, a few miles from Brecknock in the road to Buahlt, on which is carved, in a very Gothic ſtyle of ſculpture, a figure reſembling, by its attributes, that of ſome prince or military chief. But I did not at that time attempt to explain the ſhort, and ſeemingly imperfect, inſcription engraved upon this ſtone underneath the figure. It has however ſince occurred to me, that this inſcription might very poſſibly refer to *Brockwel*,

[*y*] Plate I. Fig. 5.
[*z*] Plate I. Fig. 6.
[*a*] See vol. I. p. 204.

or,

or *Brockmael*, who was a conſiderable prince in Powiſland, and is ſuppoſed to have overthrown Ethelred king of Northumberland on the banks of the river Dee in 617 [*a*]. He is alſo mentioned by Bede as a famous Britiſh general, and was ſurnamed *Eſcithrauc*, or *Yſkithroc*; which name has a ſingular affinity with *Skethrog*, or *Skithrog*, and perhaps *Yſkithrog*, near *Llanſanfrayd* in Brecknockſhire, where the cylindrical ſtone pillar ſtands, which I before mentioned. *Brockmael* is ſtyled in Latin *Brecivallus*, *Brockmaelus*, and *Brogmalius* [*b*]. I muſt here take notice of a double miſtake of Doctor Stukeley's, in his Itinerarium Curioſum, who not only follows Camden in fixing *Bullaeum* at *Buahlt*, without any other foundation, as I have before obſerved, but alſo places it in Radnorſhire, inſtead of Brecknockſhire to which it properly belongs.

I MUST not omit to obſerve, that there are ſtill very conſiderable remains of the old walls and caſtle of Brecknock. The caſtle, if I miſtake not, partly occupies a riſing ground on the Weſt ſide of the town, and was formerly, in all probability, of conſiderable ſtrength; ſince Wynne, in his hiſtory of Wales, informs us, that in 1233 Prince Lhewelyn was forced to raiſe the ſiege of it, after a long and obſtinate tryal.

I HAVE nothing more to communicate to this learned Society upon the preſent occaſion. But I beg leave to obſerve, that, beſides the pleaſure ever accruing from reſearches of this kind, to a ſpeculative mind diſpoſed to cultivate them, it is no ſmall ſatisfaction to me, to find, that the tour of Wales has enabled me to contribute, in ſome meaſure, towards the laudable purſuits of a Society, of which I have the honour to be a member. It would however be a much greater ſatisfaction to me,

[*a*] Wynne's Hiſt. of Wales, p. 23.
[*b*] Wynne's Hiſt. and Baxter in voc. *Brogmalius*.

if other gentlemen, of better abilities than myſelf, would follow the ſame plan; not only for the greater advantage of this reſpectable Society, but for the lights, which collected diſcoveries of this kind never fail to throw upon the general hiſtory of any country they particularly reſpect. It was a ſaying of *Naudaeus's*, that he revered eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, doubted of the civil, and believed the natural. But if there is any faith in civil hiſtory, it is ſurely in that part of it which is grounded on the real monuments of antiquity, which ſpeak for themſelves, *dum tacent, clamant*, and are neither offered to us through the medium of prejudice or party. A faithful regiſter of ſuch treaſures is the moſt valuable literary acquiſition that any country can make; we cannot therefore be too zealous or ſcrupulous in the reſearch and preſervation of them.

II. *On*

II. *On the Term* Lavant. *By the Honourable* Daines Barrington. *In a Letter to the Rev. Dr.* Milles, *Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries*, London.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 10, 1773.

DEAR SIR, June 8, 1773.

CAMDEN takes notice that the city of Chicheſter "is "waſhed on every ſide but the North by the little river "*Lavant* [*a*]," to which Biſhop Gibſon adds "the courſe "of which ſtream is very unaccountable, being ſometimes quite "dry, but at other times (and that often in the midſt of ſum-"mer) ſo full as to run with ſome violence."

DR. Stukeley (in his Itinerarium Curioſum [*b*]) obſerves, that there are three towns upon this ſame river, which derive their name from it, viz. Eaſt, Weſt, and Middle Lavant, and then ſuppoſes, that the true original name was Antona; but whence he forms ſuch conjecture I muſt own I cannot very readily comprehend.

THE term *Lavant*, however, is applied in Suſſex to all brooks which are dry at ſome ſeaſons, and conſequently the Chicheſter river is with great propriety ſo called, though the water fails in winter, rather than in ſummer, which is alſo the caſe of a brook at Lambourn on the Berkſhire Downs, and ſtill more ſingularly ſo at Henley in Oxfordſhire, where a

[*a*] Britannia, vol. I. col. 198.

[*b*] Iter vii. p. 194.

plentiful rill commonly runs by the ſide of the great road to Oxford only every third year.

FROM this ſame circumſtance the ſands between Conway in Carnarvonſhire, and Beaumaris in Angleſey, are called the Lavant ſands, becauſe they are dry when the tide ebbs, as are alſo the ſands which are paſſed at low water between Cartmel and Lancaſter [*c*].

THE term Lavant therefore moſt certainly ſignifies a river, or ſea-ſands which are ſometimes dry; and, after having looked into many dictionaries as well as gloſſaries, I find that the word *Llavam* approaches neareſt to it, which Bullet in his Celtic Dictionary renders *oter*, or *to deprive:* it is conſequently applied with great propriety to a brook which at certain ſeaſons hath no water in it. I am,

Dear Sir,

Moſt ſincerely yours,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

[*c*] The part of theſe ſands, into which the rivers from Furneſs Fells empty themſelves, is in Saxton's maps termed *Leven* ſands.

III. *An*

III. *An Enquiry in the Nature and Cauſe of King* John's *Death; wherein is ſhewn that it was not effected by Poiſon. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr.* Milles, *Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries,* London, *from the Rev. Mr.* Pegge.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 24, 1773.

SIR,

AS the diſcuſſion of hiſtorical facts, eſpecially ſuch as relate to the affairs of our iſland, falls in with the deſign of your inſtitution, I beg leave to preſent you with an enquiry into the nature of the death of that unfortunate prince king John, it having been attributed by ſome of our later chronicles to the effects of poiſon. After the declaration of Monſ. Rapin, "that the ſtory of the poiſon is very improbable, ſince it is not "mentioned by any of the contemporary hiſtorians;" to which his learned annotator, who, I preſume, was the late Mr. Philip Morant, has added, "that the poiſon is not mentioned by any "hiſtorian that lived within ſixty years of the time," or before A. D. 1276; one would imagine there could be no occaſion for re-conſidering this point: but the late Mr. John Lewis of Margate, partly in vindication of his favourite William Caxton, and partly from the forwardneſs of his zeal againſt Popery,

Popery, has endeavoured to puzzle the cauſe, and to invalidate the aſſertions of the judicious Frenchman, and his learned Engliſh annotator; ſo that it is become abſolutely neceſſary to review this particle of our hiſtory, and to bring it to a new hearing.

You will pleaſe to ſuppoſe the king to be at *Linn* in Norfolk, 11 Oct. 1216-17, and to have it in his intention to remove thence to Lincoln, or Lindſey; after which, the narrative of the attack and progreſs of his laſt illneſs is briefly this. In his road from Linn, it was neceſſary for the king to croſs *the waſhes*, as they are called, which part the two counties of Norfolk and Lincoln [*a*], and there he very narrowly eſcaped drowning with his whole army; for before he was quite got over, the tide coming up the river Wellſtream, which overflows the waſhes at high water, put him in great danger, and, though he eſcaped himſelf, he could not ſave his baggage, which was all ſwallowed up and loſt. He arrived that night at Swineſhead abbey [*b*], where he lodged, and began to be ill, or, as is pretended, was poiſoned. However, he ſet out thence next morning [*c*] on horſe-back for Sleford [*d*], but was forced to betake himſelf to a litter. At Sleford he was ſeverely handled by a dyſentery, and next day was carried to

[*a*] Theſe waſhes are between a place called *the Croſs-Keys* in Norfolk, and *Foſdike* in Holland, in the county of Lincoln. Annot. on Rapin, and Brady, p. 516. As for the Wellſtream, ſee Dr. Brady, p. 516.

[*b*] R. Higden makes him *dine* there. This was 14 Oct. Brady, p. 516.

[*c*] According to Caxton, an Engliſh Chronicle cited by Mr. Lewis, John Fox, and my MS. Chronicle, he ſtayed two days at Swineſhead. But ſee Brady, p. 515; and Appendix, p. 163.

[*d*] Sleford caſtle, and Newark caſtle mentioned afterwards, were both of them now in the king's hand.

Newark

Newark caſtle, where he died, as all our beſt authors agree [*e*], a few days after; his bowels were buried at Croxton [*f*], in the county of Leiceſter, and his body at Worceſter [*g*].

PARSONS the Jeſuit, and other Papiſts, are very loth to admit, that the king was poiſoned at Swineſhead, becauſe it is a reproach, they think, upon monachiſm, and conſequently reflects a diſhonour upon their religion; and they talk of the malice and forgery of the Proteſtants on the occaſion [*h*]. But there is no reaſon why they ſhould be ſo ſcrupulous upon that account, ſo long as the remembrance of *James Clement* exiſts in the world, and even ſtares them in the face. Other Papiſts have accordingly been very free in crediting and acknowledging the adminiſtration of the poiſon at the abbey [*i*], and have often repreſented it in their miniatures and illuminations [*k*]. As to the Proteſtants, the zealots amongſt them, from an extreme averſion to Popery, more outrageous than rational, are inclined to give perfect and entire credit to the poiſon [*l*]; whilſt the more moderate and diſpaſſionate perſons rather think it improbable [*m*]: whence it appears, that the truth and reality of the caſe cannot poſſibly be competently judged of and determined

[*e*] P. Langtoft ſays he died *at Hauche*, but read Naũche, i. e. Nauerche, or Newark.

[*f*] The abbot of Croxton (perhaps Ralph de Lincoln, Willis Mitr. Abb. II. p. 109.) was his phyſician at Newark. M. Paris; p. 288.

[*g*] Dr. Brady, p. 515. and Appendix, p. 164.

[*h*] Dr. John Barcham's life of king John, in Speed's Hiſt. p. 587.

[*i*] William Caxton, John Major, and George Lilly, all papiſts, make no ſcruple in acknowleding the poiſon.

[*k*] Barcham, l. c.

[*l*] John Fox, Sir Francis Haſtings, Dr. Barcham, Sir Richard Baker, John Lewis, &c.

[*m*] Monſ. Rapin and Annotator.

by the perſonal opinions of men at this time of day; but that, laying aſide all prejudice and partiality, the matter of fact and the evidence it reſts upon ought to be minutely and coolly conſidered by thoſe who are deſirous of arriving at a true notion of it. And this is what I propoſe to do in the following memoir.

KING John died at Newark 18 Oct. 1216 [*n*], and the next year Matthew Paris was old enough to be profeſſed in the monaſtery of St. Alban's [*o*]. He may therefore be eſteemed a contemporary hiſtorian, and the account he gives of the cauſe of the king's illneſs at Swineſhead is this: "Ubi, *ut putabatur, de* "*rebus à fluctibus devoratis* tantam mentis incurrit triſtitiam, "quòd *acutis correptus febribus*, coepit graviter infirmari;" inſomuch that grief and anxiety were then thought to be the ſource of the king's malady, and to have thrown him into a fever. The fever, however, was afterwards increaſed by the patient's own imprudence; for the author goes on, "Auxit autem aegri- "tudinis moleſtiam perniciosa ejus ingluvies, qui nocte illâ *de* "*fructu perſicorum, et novi ciceris* [*p*] *potatione nimis repletus,* "*febrilem in ſe calorem acuit fortiter et accendit.*"—But whether Matthew may be deemed a contemporary or not, Roger Wendover, who died A. D. 1236, and whom Matthew tranſcribes in the former part of his work [*q*], certainly was. And the narrative, no matter whether Roger's or Matthew's, is literally tranſcribed by Thomas Rudburne without the leaſt impeachment or contradiction [*r*].

[*n*] So moſt authors. See Dr. Brady, p. 517.

[*o*] Tanneri Biblioth. p. 572.

[*p*] Cyder; ſince M. Weſtminſter calls it *pomarium*, for which word ſee Du Freſne. This part of the country was famous for its pippins called Kirton-pippins. Fuller's Worthies in Lincolnſhire. Dr. Brady, p. 517. calls it *new Bracket*; but ſee Fox, p. 333.

[*q*] Tanneri Bibl. p. 757. Wats, Prolegom. ad M. Paris.

[*r*] Leland, Collect. II. p. 421.

RICHARD

RICHARD de Morins, author of the annals of Dunſtaple, was alſo living at the time. He was elected prior of his houſe, A. 1202 [*s*], and died A. 1242 [*t*]; and ſays, without intimating any thing of poiſon in the caſe, that the king died in the caſtle of Newark, *in craſtino Sancti Lucae.* And ſo the annals of Margan, which terminate ſoon after A. D. 1232, and the annals of Waverly, written probably about the ſame time, only ſay, the king died after three or four days illneſs at Newark. The annals of Mailros continued to the year 1270; and the annals of Burton, whoſe author is thought to have been contemporary with Matthew Paris, agree in the ſame.

NICOLAS Trivet, born about A. 1260 [*u*], ſays expreſsly, without tranſcribing any body, "Interim Joannes Rex— "in ipſo belli apparatu *morbo correptus decubuit*, et poſt paucos "dies defungitur apud Newark, &c."

THE ſame may be ſaid of Matthew of Weſtminſter, who flouriſhed about A. D. 1307; for he, without copying either Roger Wendover or Matthew Paris, gives the ſame account of the king's diſorder as they do, imputing it, without any inſinuation of poiſon, to grief and uneaſineſs of mind, aggravated by intemperance and miſmanagement.

I OBSERVE, ſecondly, that Mr. Morant had certainly good reaſon for ſaying, that the ſtory of the king's being poiſoned "is not mentioned by any hiſtorian that lived within ſixty years "of the time," or before 1276. Mr. Lewis [*x*], however, was not ſatisfied with this aſſertion, but remarks, in anſwer to it, that "it is mentioned in a Latin chronicle written by John

[*s*] Hearne's praef. p. 21.
[*t*] Willis, Mitr. Abb. II. p. 2.
[*u*] Cave's Hiſt. Lit. Appendix, p. 9.
[*x*] Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 34.

" abbat of Peterburgh, which ends 1259 [*y*]." Thus doubts are raiſed, or rather we are given to underſtand, that king John was certainly poiſoned. And indeed, if this affair of the Peterborough chronicle were true, it would be much to the purpoſe. Mr. Morant would not only be convicted of a miſtake or a falſe aſſertion; but, Peterborough being a neighbouring abbey of conſequence, the abbot thereof would be likely enough to know the truth of what had paſſed at Swineſhead. But it appears to me that Mr. Lewis had never read this author, but had only conſulted him in the year he quotes, there being full proof that this chronicle was not written till towards the end of the 14th century, long enough after the year 1259. It is true the title of this Peterborough chronicle bears the name of *John the abbat*; and they who look no further eſteem the author of it to be John de Caleto or de Caux, the former part of the work ending A. 1259, and this abbot dying A. 1262. But Mr. Sparkes, in his preface (had Mr. Lewis but peeped into that) abjudicates the performance from John de Caleto, and declares that the book was either bought and given to the houſe by another abbot of the name of *John*, viz. John de Deepings, and ſo was called *the chronicle of abbat John*, or that it has been interpolated. For my part, when I recollect the caſe of another of our chronicles which paſſes under the name of John Brompton, abbat of Joreval (for which I ſhall refer you to Mr. Selden's prolegomena ad X Script. p. xxxv. & ſeq.), I find it ſo ſimilar to Mr. Sparkes's firſt ſuppoſition, that I cannot but ſubſcribe to that. But the evidence of this Peterborough chronicle, be the author of it who he will, really amounts to little or nothing. " Ubi," ſays he, " *ſecundum quoſdam*, potionatus

[*y*] Rex—caedibus et incendiis vacans de Northfolk verſus Lyndeſey per abbathiam Swyneſhevede venit; ubi, ſecundum quoſdam, *potionatus* tranſiit Staford. Chron. Petriburg. p. 96.

"[Rex Johannes] tranſiit Slafford," ending at laſt in vulgar rumour.

BUT of this general rumour you may hear more hereafter, In the mean time I ſhall go one ſtep further than Mr. Morant has done, and ſhall venture to aſſert, upon as good grounds as can be had in a negative argument, that no author has ever mentioned the poiſon till above eighty years after the event. For now that we have diſcarded John abbot of Peterborough, Barth. de Cotton, a monk of Norwich, who flouriſhed A. 1298, according to biſhop Tanner, is the firſt perſon that notices the poiſon; and his words, as cited by Hearne ad Gul. Neubrig. III. p. 815. are theſe:

"Anno 1216 die S. Lucae Evangeliſtae Johannes Rex obiit, "*veneno extinctus* apud Swineſheid, a quodam hoſpitali dictae "domus, et ſepultus eſt apud Wigorniam."

HE is poſitive, you obſerve; but betrays his ignorance at the ſame time, by ſaying the king died at Swineſhead the 18th of October, at which time the king was not there, and actually died at another place. Other authors are more cautious.

THOMAS Wikes, whoſe hiſtory ends with the death of Edward I. A. 1307, ſays, "Rex Johannes—intoxicatus, *ut* "*dicebatur*, continuo coepit; ex violentia veneni, contabeſcere, "&c." and ſo the Polychronicon, "*But the comyne fame telleth*, "&c." and Knighton, "*Tradit tamen vulgata fama*," and afterwards, "juraverat enim ibidem, *ut aſſeritur*." And the like doubtful and wary expreſſions we have in John of Tinmouth, Thomas Otterburn, Scala mundi, and Hiſt. de Geſtis Reg. Joh. in the Cotton Library, now in the Britiſh Muſeum.

PETER Langtoft may range with Thomas Wikes, as he wrote the life of Edward I. who died A. 1307. He conſequently was not born when king John died.

JOHN Tinmouth did not flouriſh till 1336; and the author of the Eulogium, a MS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, died about A. 1366. So that neither of them were living within eighty years of the king's death.

I PRESUME, Sir, I need not trouble you with the recital of any more of theſe later authors, either William Caxton, or the Engliſh Chronicles, but may proceed with my obſervations. The poiſoners, at firſt, either ſpoke doubtfully, or kept to generals. But, as it is the nature of rumour to increaſe and improve,

—— *vireſque acquirit eundo*;

ſo in a ſhort time, our falſificators began to invent a formal ſtory, and to embelliſh it with particulars. Thus Walter Hemingford, or rather Hemingburgh, who died A. 1347, tells us, that the king, hearing the abbot of Swineſhead had a fair ſiſter, a prioreſs in the neighbourhood, ſent for her; that the abbot was uneaſy about it, and the hoſpitaller of the monaſtery ſaid to him, "Do but abſolve me, father, and pray for "me, and I will rid the earth of this monſter;" that the abbot was ſcrupulous, becauſe he was the king; that the hoſpitaller proceeded nevertheleſs, and, as he knew the king loved new pears, brought ſome that were all poiſoned, except three that he had marked, and offered them to him. Upon which the precious ſtones (in the king's rings I ſuppoſe) began to ſweat; and he ſaid to his hoſt, "What is this you have brought me? "Poiſon?" "Not poiſon, ſaid he, but excellent fruit." That the king, by way of precaution, bad *him* eat one, which he did, taking one he had marked; he bad him eat another, and he did ſo; then a third: after which the king eat one himſelf, and died the ſame night. The hoſpitaller, however, was not put to death for it, but eſcaped by means of thoſe who were not the

the king's friends: and ſo the author concludes with ſaying, the king was ſoon after buried on St. Luke's day at Winchester [z]. Walter Hemingburgh, who lived at Giſburn above an hundred miles off, was not a perſon likely to know much of the private tranſactions at Swineſhead, though he is ſo particular on the ſubject. This, Sir, you will acknowledge is a pure legendary ſtory, the ſweating of the gems, the ſtopping at the third pear, &c. But, beſides this, there are certain perplexing difficulties attendant on the ſtory. Where was the nunnery? for I know of none near Swineſhead, that could be ſent to on ſo ſhort a warning. How could the pears be ſo ſoon poiſoned? It muſt be by arſenic, a drug, which, as Dr. Mead will tell you, does not operate by a flux, of which malady, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, the king died; but by lancing and lacerating the coats of the ſtomach and bowels. But, what is worſt, the author betrays the groſſeſt ignorance about the king's death, committing the moſt palpable miſtakes. He ſays, the king died the ſame night at Swineſhead, and that he was buried the 18th of October, and at Wincheſter; all which particulars are abſolutely falſe [a]. This Hemingburgh has a great character given him by Leland, and not upon a haſty or curſory view, for in the *Collectanea* [b] he has given us an abſtract of him, though very undeſervedly; for he has ac-

[z] The ſtory is tranſcribed by Knyghton, col. 2425.

[a] Mr. Lewis endeavours to ſalve the author's credit, as to the place of interment, by ſaying (in behalf of Caxton, who makes the ſame miſtake, putting Wincheſter for Worceſter), "which difference, perhaps, might be occaſioned by "the old ſpelling the names of theſe two places, thus, Wyncerpe and Wyn-"cerpe, the one being miſtaken for the other;" but this will not ſerve the turn, it bing *Wintoniae* in the author, and not *Winceſtria*. It would be a better apology to ſay it is a miſprint in Hemingburgh, ſince Henry Knyghton, who tranſcribes him, has it *Wigorniae* for *Wintoniae*.

[b] III. p. 314.

quitted.

quitted himſelf very ill in reſpect of King John's death, in a fabulous and legendary manner, and without any regard to the truth of facts. The king, he ſays again, left five ſons, aſcribing to him the ſons which his widow afterwards had by her ſecond huſband Hugh Brun, earl of March. So of his three daughters, he makes one marry the Emperor Frederick, another, William earl Marſhal, and a third, Simon Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, as if it were not the ſame lady that married William and Simon, and thereby taking no notice of Joan who married Alexander, king of Scots.

You do not expect, I am ſure, Sir, any uniformity in error; and therefore will not be ſurprized to find Mr. Caxton's narrative, which I propoſe to give you next, totally varying from that of Hemingburgh above. Caxton ſays, the king hearing it ſaid, when he was at the abbey, how cheap corn then was, anſwered, *He would ere long make it ſo dear, that a penny loaf ſhould be ſold for a ſhilling* [*c*]. Hence Robert of Glouceſter, ſpeaking of King John, ſays,

And dude the londe wo enou, and more bi het.

that, upon this, a monk [*d*] there preſent took ſuch indignation, that he went and put the poiſon of a toad into a cup of wine [*e*], and came and drank to the king, which made him

[*c*] "An half-penny loaf, which he would make worth twelve half-pence." Hemingburgh. This comes to the ſame thing; but Higden and Otterburn make the king ſay, *a half-penny loaf ſhould be worth twelve-pence.* One edition of Polychronicon has twenty-pence. Caxton, a MS. Chronicle in Lewis, and mine, have twenty ſhillings. The Eulogium has it, *a lb. of bread as a lb. of ſilver.* See Dr. Barcham in Speed.

[*d*] He was *converſus*, a lay-brother. Hemingburgh, Otterburne, Higden, and Knighton. His name according to ſome was Simon. See Barcham and Fox.

[*e*] So Fox: but Caxton, and the Engliſh MS. Chronicle, as alſo my MS. have *Ale.*

pledge

pledge him the more readily. After the king had made his draught, and found himself ill, he asked for the Monk: and when it was told him he was dead, *God have mercy upon me*, said the king; *I doubted as much* [*f*]: and so he died in two days.

WE have not done yet with the multiformity of error; since a third account, which we have in John Fox from the *Fructus temporum*, though it agrees as to the toad, and the manner of poisoning the king, yet specifies a different motive for doing it, viz. the discourse which the king had at table concerning Lewis the Dauphine, whom we are to suppose the Religious of this house were disposed to favour and support [*g*]. And this, indeed, seems to be the most probable motive, admitting the fact. Swineshead, or Swinesheved, for so we ought to read it, and not *Swineshenede* [*h*], as in Hemingburgh and Knyghton, was a small monastery of Cistercians, near Boston [*i*]; and though the quarrel between the king and the Cistercians had long since subsided [*k*], and though we do not find that John had ravaged the lands in the manner he had done those of the great houses of Crowland and Peterborough [*l*], yet it appears from the words of M. Westminster, "In crastino vero, *ne* "*hostes sui insultarent*, *morbum dissimulans*, mannum suum vix as-

[*f*] Annot. ad Rapin. See the story more at large in Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 133. & seq. where the toad is said to have been pricked in various places to get out its venom.

[*g*] Fox, Acts and Mon. I. p. 333.

[*h*] John Fox writes it Swin*stead*, which is equally bad.

[*i*] Near Lincoln, Fox and Lewis. Knyghton has it, more justly, *near Boston*; one would wonder at John Fox, who, being a native of Boston, must know the place well.

[*k*] Hoveden, p. 812. And he had actually founded an house of this order. M. Par. p. 288.

[*l*] M. Par. p. 287. Annal. Dunst. p. 77. Chron. Petrib. p. 96.

"cendit,

" cendit, &c. [*m*]," that the Monks of Swineſhead were no friends of his. Thus he came thither, *hoſpitandi gratia*, as Hemingburgh and Knyghton expreſs it, for a night's lodging, in the hour of his diſtreſs, and not from choice, as to a ſett of his own party and friends. The force he had with him [*n*] was ſufficient to ſecure him entertainment in the *hoſpitium* of the abbey, though the abbot and his Monks were never ſo inimical to him.

IN what a ſtrange manner do thoſe aſſertors of his being poiſoned vary! 1ſt, in aſſigning three different motives or inducements to the horrible attempt; 2dly, in the matter of the poiſon. Something was ſaid about the infected pears above; and I here query, whether the juice of a toad ſqueezed into a cup of ale or wine would amount to a poiſon. Theſe chroniclers indeed ſuppoſe it, but the Naturaliſts will not eaſily aſſent. Mr. Pennant [*o*] ſays, " It is well known, that quacks have eaten " Toads; and have beſides ſqueezed their juices (which was the " very caſe here) into a glaſs, and drank them with impunity." The author of the Eulogium is the firſt that inſinuates the uſe and application of the toad, expreſsly mentioning this ingredient, which is entirely omitted by Rad. de Coggeſhale, an author living at the time of King John's death, though his teſtimony is omitted above; and his words, in the chapter *de morte Regis Johannis*, as they have not yet been publiſhed, I ſhall inſert in the margin from the MS. in the College of Arms [*p*]. 3dly,

[*m*] See alſo Hemingburgh, p. 560.

[*n*] M. Paris, p. 287.

[*o*] Brit. Zoology, III. p. 10. and Appendix, p. 321.

[*p*] Ibidem [at Suineſhead] ut dicitur, ex nimia voracitate, qua ſemper inſaciabilis erat, venter ejus ingurgitatus uſq; ad crapulam, ex ventris indigerie ſolutus eſt in diſſinteriam. Poſtea vero, cum paululum ſeſſaſſat [l. ceſſaſſet] fluxus, flebotomatus

3dly, They are alſo inconſiſtent as to the fate of the Monk; Higden, Otterburne, and Caxton teſtifying that he died, and Hemingburgh that he eſcaped and ſurvived. What are we to believe in this caſe? Higden again ſays, the Monk ſhrove himſelf, and was *houſeled* [*p*], before he gave John the poiſon; which is ſcarce poſſible, as the king was at table, and the toad was to be found, and the drench prepared, before he roſe from his meal. All this was too much to be done in that ſhort interval of time; and therefore others more probably ſay, the Monk was only abſolved by that abbot [*q*].

IT has been ſuggeſted, that no man would deſtroy himſelf for the ſake of revenge, as this Monk did [*r*]: but it is well known, that revenge is ſweet, and has carried people great lengths; and that many again have voluntarily died for what they have thought the good of their country. I do not think therefore that this obſervation is ſufficient to invalidate the ſtory of the poiſon; but the diſſonance, inconſiſtency, and endleſs contradictions of the writers on that ſide of the queſtion one amongſt another, ſhew ſtrongly, that a ſtable and uniform ground of truth is wanting with them, and that Matthew Paris's relation, ſimple, and natural as it is, is more to be depended upon.

WHEREUPON I remark, farther, that the ſtory, as told by M. Paris and his partizans, carries, along with the teſtimony

tomatus eſt apud villam in Lindeſeia, quae dicitur Latford. Huc ergo cum veniſſent nuntii Incluſorum caſtri Dovere, ut intimaſſent cauſam adventûs ſui, morbus ex dolore concepto recruduit. Praeterea maximus dolor eum angebat, quod capellam ſuam . . . . amiſerat, &c. Egritudo autem ejus per dies paucos invaleſcens, apud caſtellum de Neuwerc inteſtatus deceſſit, &c.' This particular, however, that he died without a will, is not true. See note [*w*] in p. 42.

[*p*] See alſo Otterburne and Knyghton.

[*q*] Lewis, p. 33. 134. Caxton, and my MS. chronicle; alſo Fox from the *Fructus Temporum.*

[*r*] Notes on Rapin.

of the writers, a great appearance of truth and probability. Vexation and uneaſineſs of mind will, doubtleſs, ſometimes bring on a fever. And this, by improper management, eating of fruit, and drinking large draughts of new cyder, might very probably terminate in a flux or dyſentery, eſpecially at a time of the year ſo favourable to this diſorder, and which very often proves fatal now, when the art of medicine is better underſtood than it was at that time: and M. Paris, Rad. de Coggeſhale, the chronicle of Peterborough, the Hiſt. Croyland. Continuatio, Knyghton, Otterburne, and Rous, all uſing the term *Dyſenteria* [*s*]; though the patrons of the toad, William Caxton, the MS. Chronicle in Lewis, and mine, pretend, that the monk's and the king's bellies ſwelled and burſt, and their bowels fell out. In ſhort, John's caſe was nearly ſimilar to that of Cardinal Wolſey, who not only died of the ſame malady, induced by the ſame original cauſe, grief and vexation, but, what makes it parallel, was alſo reported, though falſely, to have been taken off by poiſon [*t*].

SETTING aſide teſtimony on that ſide of the queſtion, which is what we have endeavoured to do in part, one can diſcern nothing of poiſon in the nature of John's diſorder. When the abbot of Croxton embowelled him [*u*], it is not ſaid that any ſigns of poiſon appeared, or that the operator had an apprehenſion of any foul play; though Caxton and the Engliſh chronicles ſay his belly was ſwelled with the poiſon. Neither does the king ſay any thing more in his will, than that he was *gravi infirmitate praeventus* [*w*]. On the contrary, the cauſes of the

[*s*] Ubi ſupra modum *diſſenteria* vexatus, Chron. Burg. Perhaps we ſhould read *acute ſupra modum*, &c. Joh Roſſus, p. 198. Knyghton, col. 24, 25. Hiſt. Croyl. Contin. p. 474. Rad. de Coggeſhale, as before cited.

[*t*] See Wolſey's caſe diſcuſſed in Gent Mag. 1775, p. 25. Carte, III. p. 118. Mr. Hearne is of opinion that Roſamond Clifford was not poiſoned. Lel. Itin. II. in Append. and ad Gul. Neubrig. p. 739, & ſeq.

[*u*] At Newark, M. Paris, p. 288. but Knyghton ſays at Croxton, col. 2425.

[*w*] Teſtamentum R. Joh. in Thomas's Survey of Worceſter Cathedral, p. 19 of Append.

malady

malady were adequate to the ſymptoms without the intervention of poiſon. The king had been greatly harraſſed and fatigued, and probably very wet. He was under the utmoſt perplexity, not knowing whom to truſt, not where to be ſafe; and this is what the annals of Dunſtaple mean, by ſaying of this king, *obiit in exilio* [x]. He ſickened, accordingly, in the abbey, and inflamed his diſtemper by eating improper, and, in his preſent caſe, very hurtful, things; though it ſeems he was wont at other times to eat and drink of them freely without harm [y]. He ate and drank them moſt intemperately, indulging his appetite to the full, as having nobody there to controul him; his phyſician, the abbat of Croxton, not being with him at the time, and never ſeeing him till he came to Newark, when his malady was grown deſperate and paſt cure [z]. It adds much ſtrength to the above obſervations, that the author of the continuation of the Hiſtory of Croyland, a great houſe in the vicinage of Swineſhead, who flouriſhed as late as the reign of king Edward IV. and had no reaſon to have any regard or eſteem for the memory of king John, only ſays that he died, "*ingra-* "*veſcente ſuper eum* diſſenteriae *morbo*," at the caſtle of Newark.

MATTHEW Paris's narrative, ſupported by the correſpondent hiſtorians, receives, laſtly, a material and moſt convincing confirmation from the conduct of the king's friends after his death. Upon John's deceaſe, affairs took a moſt favourable turn; Lewis, the French Dauphine, was ſoon expelled the kingdom, and the whole power came into the hand of the king of England's party, inſomuch that in 1217, the earl of Pembroke, tutor to the young king, and adminiſtrator of the king-

[x] And ſo M. Paris ſays of the king, *nihil terrae, imo nec ſeipſum poſſidens.* p 288; and ſee M. Weſtminſter, p. 276.

[y] M. Weſtminſter, l. c. [z] Idem, ibidem

dom, Gualo the Pope's legate, and Peter de Rupibus, the great biſhop of Wincheſter, with others of the young king's powerful friends, were all triumphant a Newark, the very place where John died, and no great diſtance from Swineſhead; and yet, though a moſt atrocious and traiterous act had been committed, as is pretended, againſt the perſon of their late ſovereign, by the abbat and monks of Swineſhead, not the leaſt enquiry, that one can find, was ever made about it; nay, the name of the abbat is not certainly known [*a*]: whereas one might expect to have heard of a total diſſolution of the houſe, the eraſement of the buildings, the ſeizure of the eſtate, the degradation and expulſion of the abbat and monks. Not one of theſe things, however, happened, but the monaſtery continued to exiſt and flouriſh till the time of the general ſuppreſſion. A ſtrong preſumption, you muſt allow, that a crime of ſo black a die had never been perpretated at the place.

IT may be alledged, indeed, that, according to Dr. Barcham, Henry III. the king's ſon, alluded, in a ſpeech of his, to the violent death of his father. He was at Clarkenwell, where the prior ſaucily ſaid to him, "that as ſoon as he ceaſed to do "juſtice towards his prelates, he ſhould ceaſe to be a king;" to which the king haſtily replied, "*O quid ſibi vult iſtud, vos* "*Anglici, vultiſne me, ſicut quondam patrem meum, à regno prae-*"*cipitare, atque* necare *praecipitatum* [*b*]." If the word *potionare*, inſtead of *necare*, had been uſed, it would have been deciſive; but at preſent the word is too lax for us to infer any thing of poiſon in the caſe. But by this the king only meant, that his father's troubles were the cauſe of his death, as in

[*a*] Perhaps it was Robert de Denton, for he was made abbat of Furnes from the abbey of Swineſhead, A. 1217. Willis, Mitr. Abb. II. p. 106.

[*b*] M. Paris, p. 854.

truth they were. But ſuppoſing he hinted at any ſiniſter doings at Swineſhead, it was only ſpoken in a paſſion, A. 1252, between thirty and forty years after the event; and Matthew Paris calls it a *raſh and uncircumſpect anſwer*, as well he might, his own account of John's death being, that he died of a fever, and nothing elſe.

IT may be ſuggeſted again, that John muſt have been poiſoned, ſince authors tell us, that certain monks, ſome ſay three, others five [*c*], were actually employed at Swineſhead, in after-ages, to pray and ſing for the ſoul of the Monk that adminiſtered the poiſon. So then there is no truth in that pretty ſtory of Hemingburgh, that the Monk ate the three marked harmleſs pears, and eſcaped with life, but the whole reſts on the ale being envenomed by the toad. But the misfortune is, the appointment of the ſinging monks is not mentioned by any body older than the author of the *Eulogium*, who died about A. 1366 [*d*], one hundred and fifty years after the fact; and therefore, though he ſpeaks of an *ordinance by the general chapter* [*e*], meaning, I ſuppoſe, of the whole order of Ciſtercians, yet one knows not how to give him credit for it. At moſt, it only proves, that the ſtory prevailed in after-times at Swineſhead, and was there believed: as probably it might, as well as in other places, and as many other ridiculous ſtories in thoſe credulous ages were. Dr. Barcham, though he eſpouſes and believes the poiſon, was aware of this; for he ſays with caution, thoſe monkiſh writers avow, *at what time they wrote this*, five monks in that abbey did ſing, &c. And thus the appointment of monks to pray for the aſſaſſin's ſoul at Swineſhead, in after-ages, poſſibly may be true, and yet the

[*c*] My MS. Engl. Chron. that in Lewis, and Caxton, ſay five; Fox, three.
[*d*] Dr. Barcham in Speed, p. 587. [*e*] See alſo John Fox.

fact

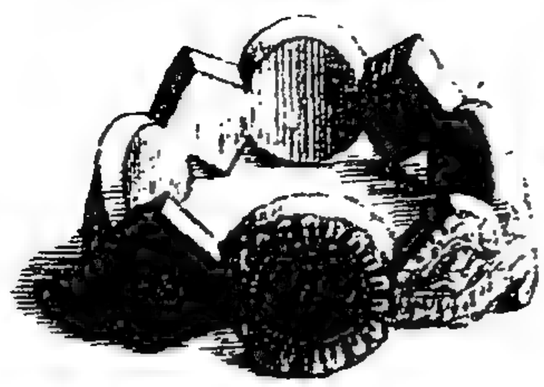
fact, which was the ground of the appointment, may not be ſo. Parſons, the Jeſuit, I obſerve, gives not one jot the more credit to the poiſon, on account of this chantry.

IN ſhort, it appears clear to me that king John died a natural death. But is it not ſtrange; you will ſay, that ſo many authors ſhould aſſert with confidence, and with ſo many circumſtances, that he was poiſoned? I anſwer, not in the leaſt; on the contrary, that it is very natural it ſhould ſo happen. John died at a critical time, of a ſhort illneſs, contracted in an enemy's quarter; whence it would be very obvious for the vulgar to *ſurmiſe* that he was poiſoned. Kings, and other great perſonages, ſeldom die ſuddenly, witneſs the caſe of Wolſey above-mentioned, but the like fancies and imaginations riſe in people's minds. It was *ſurmiſe* at firſt, and then grew into an aſſertion, and this by degrees received circumſtances and embelliſhments from the pens of certain idle monks that did not love the king's perſon. John was a bad man in various reſpects, and the monks have not ſpared him; they have loaded him with the reproaches he deſerved [*f*]. And I think it not improbable, that when he was with his back-friends at Swineſhead, he might uſe ſuch threatening diſcourſe at table as is related above; which being afterwards reported by the monks, or other writers, might at length furniſh a ſpecious pretence, in conjunction with ſurmiſe, for the fictitious ſtory of the poiſon, and all the circumſtances and particulars of it.

Whittington, 9 Dec. 1773.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

[*f*] M. Paris ſpeaks of *quas ingrata reprehendit filia matrix*. See M. Weſtminſter, p. 270. Hemingburgh. p. 560. Joh. Roſſus, p. 198. And Dr. Barcham in ſpecul. p. 587.



Bayly del et sculp

IV. *Illuſtration of a gold enamelled Ring, ſuppoſed to have been the Property of* Alhſtan, *biſhop of* Sherburne; *with ſome Account of the State and Condition of the* Saxon *Jewelry in the more early Ages. By the Rev. Mr.* Pegge.

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 2, 1773.

THE ring here repreſented was found by a labourer on the ſurface of the ground, on a common, at a place called Llys faen, in the North Eaſt corner of Carnarvonſhire. It is gold, enamelled, of good workmanſhip, and in fine preſervation. It weighs above an ounce, and muſt be worth be-

tween

tween 4 and 5 pounds. It is the more eſtimable on account of its Saxon inſcription, ſince, if you except the legends on the coins, epigraphs conceived in that language are extremely rare [*a*].

THE mark in the firſt compartment after the letter Æ being taken for the Saxon ð, this noble jewel was at firſt thought to have been the property and ornament of King Athelſtan, ÆðLHSTAN; eſpecially as it was generally known that artificers in gold and enamel were in his time uncommonly excellent in this iſland [*b*]. But upon cloſer examination, that ſuppoſed letter proved to be no more than a ſuperfluous decoration, ſomething of the ſame kind being prefixed to the latter Æ. The legend therefore is + ÆLHSTÆN, the laſt character being the Runic N [*c*], or, if it be no more than a croſs, the N is expreſſed by the circumflex over the letter Æ.

ALHSTAN was a common Saxon name; for, to mention no others, it was born by three biſhops of London [*d*], as alſo by the ſeventh [*e*] biſhop of Sherburne, whoſe property, in preference to the London prelates, I take the ring to have been. It undoubtedly belonged to ſome great perſonage, the weight [*f*] and

[*a*] Two or three in Dr. Hickes's Theſaurus, and one in Gent. Mag. 1754, are all we have at preſent.

[*b*] Aſſerius Menev. p. 43. 58. 86. Edit. Wiſe, and Mr. Wiſe's Annotations: Spelman's Life of Ælfred, p. 156. 200.

[*c*] Stephanius ad Saxon. Grammat. p. 14, 15. alſo the three plates in Dr. Hickes's Theſ. II, p. 4. ᚾ is eaſily formed from ᛋ.

[*d*] Wharton de Epiſc. Lond. p. 26. 28. 32.

[*e*] The Text. Roff. and Flor. Vig. omit Migfred or Wigfred, inſerted by Mr. De Neve and Dr. Drake in his edition of archbiſhop Parker, and very juſtly; for as Migfred is ſuppoſed to have been ſlain by the Danes A. 833 or 834, this cannot well be, as Alhſtan was conſecrated A. 817, and ſitting long after the year 834.

[*f*] One can ſcarcely imagine, ſuppoſing it to be the Runic character, that ſuch a character ſhould be employed in a Saxon inſcription, eſpecially in the Southern parts

and elegance of it clearly indicate that; and it is very natural, upon that account, to think it prelatical. Alhſtan, biſhop of Sherburne, ſat from A. 817 to 867, as will be ſhewn below, whereas of the three biſhops of London one died A. 898, another after 926, and the third after 995 [g].

THERE is much variety in writing the name of our prelate amongſt ancient authors, as will appear from this table:

Aeleſtan. Chron. Sax. ad an. 845 in MS. Cot.
Aelfſtan. Ingulph. p. 16. v. Elfſtan below.
Aelhſtan. Ethelwerd. p. 842.
Alehſtan. Chron. Mailroſ. p. 141. 143.
Aleſtan. Chron. Mailroſ. p. 142. Henr. Hunt. p. 345 in marg. Idem, p. 348. Rog. Hoveden, p. 411.
Aleſtan. H. Hunt. p. 348 (but in the margin Alcſtan and Algſtan). alſo p. 345 in my MS.
Alfſtan. M. Weſtm. p. 160. H. Hunt. p. 349.
Alhſtan. Gul. Malm. p. 40, 41. Flor. Vig. p. 579. 684 (yet it ſhould be acknowledged that p. 582 and 585 he has Ealhſtan). Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 174.

parts of our iſland, later than the beginning of the ninth century. They appear ſometimes on the coins of the heptarchy, but ſeldom afterwards. And if they are ſeen here on any other monuments beſides coins, as ſometimes they are, it was not, I think, till the Danes had ſettled here, and had, as it were, introduced them again. This may ſerve as one reaſon why the ring ought rather to be aſſigned to the biſhop of Sherburn than the biſhops of London. And no one needs object to a Runic character in company with Saxon ones, ſince in the older coins of Sir Andrew Fountaine's tables, ᚴ and ᛋ, i. e. L and S, frequently occur; the minter perhaps might have recourſe to the character in queſtion on account of there not being room ſufficient for N, a conjecture not in the leaſt inconſiſtent with what was advanced above concerning the antiquity of the Runic characters intermixed with the Saxon, and the argument drawn from thence for the age of the ring, becauſe he would ſcarce have thought of it at a later period.

[g] Wharton, ll. cc.

Ealhſtan. Chron. Sax. ad Ann. 823. 845. in MS. Cant. and p. 867 in MSS. Laud. and Cant. Text. Roff. p. 24. of my MS. copy. Thorpe in Regiſtr. Roff. p. 19. 22. Aſſer. Menev. p. 8. 18. Ethelwerd p. 843. See Alhſtan above.

Ealchſtan. Chron. Sax. ad Ann. 845. 867.

Elſtan. Hoveden p. 415. Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 182. Ingulph. p. 15. in marg. Elfſtan.

Ethelſtan. M. Weſtm. p. 154. but Aſſer. Menev. p. 6. Ethelwerd, p. 843. Chron. Mail. p. 142. H. Hunt. p. 384. and Hoveden, p. 413, 414. who all mention that affair, ſay, it was Athelſtan king of Kent, and not our biſhop, that fought the Danes at Sandwich. M. Weſtm. however, calls him Ethelſtan p. 156. but p. 160 writes him Alfſtan. Adelſtan, Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 177. and ſo Ingulph. p. 11.

Healſtan. H. Hunt. p. 345. in marg.

WE find the like variations in the orthography of the names of the biſhops of London [*b*]; and the principal cauſe of all this fluctuation probably was that in thoſe days ſo few people could write [*i*]; and that, in a deficiency of autographs and contemporary originals, after-ages were obliged to follow ſound, and perhaps erroneous pronunciation, which neceſſarily would ſubject them to miſnomers. Ealhſtan I preſume might be the fulleſt orthography; but conſidering the little room there was for ſo many letters in the circumference of the ring, one need not wonder to ſee the name ſhortened either into Elſtan, Alſtan, or

[*b*] Wharton de Epiſc. Lond. II. cc.

[*i*] Thus it is much doubted whether Charlemagne with all his learning and knowledge could write. Eginhart. p. 118. Pere Daniel. I. p. 512.

as here into Alhſtan, and as we find it written *literatim* in Malmſbury, Florence of Worceſter and the ſubſcription to the council of Cloveſho A. 824. as alſo thrice in Malmſbury de Antiq. Glaſton. Eccl. p. 316. 360.

THERE is a particular which in my opinion greatly corroborates the appropriation of the ring to Alhſtan biſhop of Sherburne preferably to any of the biſhops of London; the dragon of Weſſex, ſo apparent in the firſt lozenge, plainly fixes the jewel, in my eye, to that kingdom. This was not only the device on the royal ſtandard of Weſſex, but the biſhop of Sherburne had alſo often conducted armies under it. No one therefore will be ſurprized that a decoration of this martial kind is aſſigned to a prelate of the church, and delineated on a jewel of his, when he reflects that this biſhop had been much engaged in affairs of war, and that his talent lay chiefly that way. The Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worceſter inform us, that in the year 823, which was after he was conſecrated biſhop, Egbert the Great detached his ſon Ethelwolf, Ealhſtan his biſhop, and Wulfheard his alderman, with a conſiderable army, and they drove Baldred king of Kent acroſs the Thames [*k*]. Alſo, A. 845, when Ethelwulf was on the throne, the biſhop, in joint commiſſion with earl Oſric, headed the Dorſetſhire men, gave battle to the Danes in Somerſetſhire, ſlew many of them, and obtained the victory. William of Malmſbury ſuggeſts in the paſſage to be adduced below, that our biſhop alſo aſſiſted Egbert in ſubduing the Eaſt-Angles; and Matthew of Weſtminſter adds, that the biſhop (whom he calls Ethelſtan) and earl Other engaged the Danes alſo at Sandwich, took nine of their largeſt ſhips, and put the reſt to flight [*l*]; but the au-

[*k*] See alſo M. Weſtm. p. 154. and Ethelwerd, p. 842.
[*l*] M. Weſtm. p. 156.

thor, I apprehend, is miſtaken here [*m*]. Alhſtan, however, was concerned deeply in an act of rebellion againſt his ſovereign king Ethelwulf, and obliged him to come to his own terms [*n*]. Theſe exploits by a prelate of the church were new and unheard-of things at this time of day in our iſland; for whatever might have been the practice of the Franes abroad, whoſe biſhops long before this had ſome of them ſignalized themſelves in fields of battle [*o*], Alhſtan was the perſon that ſet the example here, and in ſucceeding times it was but too much followed, eſpecially after the Norman conqueſt. But ſuch was the bold and enterprizing genius of our biſhop, according to William of Malmſbury; "Hic [Alhſtanus] tempore Egbrithi "regis Weſtſaxonum et Adulfi filii ejus ſimul, et ultra, magnae "in ſeculo potentiae, et ingens in conſiliis author fuit. Eg- "britho regi Cantuaritas et Orientales Anglos bellicis ſubegit "laboribus. Adulfum videns manſuetioris ingenii, ſedulis ad- "monitionibus ad ſcientiam regni [*p*] ſtimulabat, contra Danos, "qui tum primum inſulam infeſtabant, ſegnem animans, ipſe "pecunias ex fiſco ſufficiens, ipſe exercitum componens. "Multa per eum in talibus, et inchoata conſtanter, et perfecta "feliciter, qui annales legerit, inveniet. Vixit in epiſcopatu "annis 50, felix, qui tanto tempore in procinctu bonorum ope- "rum fuerit! Quem libenter laudarem, niſi quod humana cupi- "ditate raptatus uſurpavit indebita, quando monaſterium noſ- "trum ſuis ſubſtravit negotiis. Sentimus ad hunc diem im- "pudentiae illius calumniam, licet locus ille ſtatim eo mortuo "omnem epiſcoporum eluctatus fuerit violentiam, uſque ad

[*m*] See the remark on *Ethelſtan* in the former page.

[*n*] Aſſer Menev. p. 8. M. Weſtm. p. 158. Gul. Malm. citat. infra. This affair is related at large by Monſ. Rapin, p. 86.

[*o*] Pere Daniel, I p. 151.

[*p*] Forte legend. *belli*.

"noſtrum

" noſtrum tempus------et erat ille (ut ex ſcriptis audivimus)
" ſicut cupiditate praefervidus, ita liberalitate praecipuus------
" Potentiam ejus per hoc quilibet cognoſcere poterit, quòd re-
" gem ipſum Roma revertentem regno arcuerit, ſtatutoque ad
" umbram regnandi filio, niſi arbitratu ſuo pace compoſita ſe-
" nem in ſua regredi non ſiverit. Reliquit eccleſiam ſuam
" praedivitem praediis undecunque adquiſitis, quanta ſi audias,
" hominis vel cupiditatem, vel felicitatem mireris [*q*]." To be ſhort, Alhſtan died A. 867, in the beginning of the reign of Ethelred I., after he had ſat at Sherburne, where he was buried, 50 years, ſo that he muſt have been conſecrated A. 817 [*r*]. Can one wonder, when this prelate was of ſuch an active warlike diſpoſition, of ſuch an high ſpirit in all things, and almoſt continually embroiled in wars and tumults, which he regarded as in no reſpect unbecoming his epiſcopal character and function, can one wonder, I ſay, he ſhould eſteem the device of the imperial ſtandard a principal ornament for his ring? Certainly, one needs only to ſuppoſe the jewel to be fabricated at the time of one of his military expeditions, to make it extremely natural for him to prefer that ſymbol before all others, and to place it in the firſt compartment. It does not appear that the biſhops of London of the ſame name had any of them the like martial turn, or ever ſhone in arms, whence it ſhould ſeem they had no right to the device, and conſequently that the ring muſt appertain to the warlike biſhop of Sherburne, to the excluſion of all other claimants whatſoever.

The ring was found in the North Eaſt corner of Carnarvonſhire; and as in 828, Egbert viſited North Wales in an hoſtile

[*q*] Gul. Malmeſb. de Pontiff. II. p. 247. See alſo Flor. Vig. p. 160.
[*r*] And ſo ſays the Chron. of Mailros, p. 141, expreſsly.

manner

manner [*s*], it would be no extravagant conjecture to ſurmiſe, that Alhſtan was a principal perſonage, or perhaps commander of the Saxon army, on the occaſion, and that the ring might be then loſt. Soon after it was found, another gold ring, of greater weight but quite rough, was picked up near the ſame place; a circumſtance which betokens that a conſiderable army had been in thoſe parts, which are rocky, and conſiſt of large cliffs hanging over the ſea, and therefore one cannot imagine that jewels of 4 and 5 l. value could ever come there but by ſome ſuch means.

I AM not aware of any reaſonable objection that can be raiſed againſt this appropriation, unleſs any body ſhould fancy there were no artiſts here in biſhop Alhſtan's time capable of executing ſo elegant a piece of work. King Aelfred, it may be urged from Aſſer Menevenſis, had indeed ſome expert jewellers, and wanted not materials; and there is extant a valuable remain of his, a ſpecimen of moſt curious workmanſhip [*t*]. If it be aſked, what evidence there is that before his reign there were any good workmen here? I anſwer, it is plain from the paſſage of Aſſerius here referred to [*u*], that the goldſmiths there ſpoken of were already in the iſland, and that Aelfred only cauſed them to exert themſelves by the encouragement he gave them, the notice he took of them, and the inſtructions, or perhaps deſigns, which he furniſhed them with. "Interea tamen Rex inter bella et praeſentis vitae fre-
"quentia impedimenta------et regni gubernacula regere & om-
"nem venandi artem agere; *aurifices et artifices ſuos omnes*, et
"falconarios, et accipitrarios, canicularios quoque docere;-----

[*s*] Rapin, p. 83.

[*t*] Aſſerius and Mr. Wiſe ad eundem, both cited above. See alſo Hickes's Theſaur. I. p. 142.

[*u*] See above, p. 48.

" et ſolus aſſidue pro viribus ſtudioſiſſime non deſinebat." This obſervation leads us to enquire with good propriety into the ſtate of the Saxon jewelry previous to the reign of Aelfred the Great, as far as at this diſtance of time, and in the preſent ſcarcity of memorials, it can be recovered.

It is not to be imagined that the Saxons, a nation inured to piracy, could have any arts amongſt them, at the time they firſt entered this iſland, though we find mention made of a *gold cup*, in which Rowena drank to king Vortigern. Such a veſſel might have accrued to Hengiſt by the fortune of war, and therefore does not imply any ſkill his people had of making it themſelves; beſides, it may be doubted whether any author but Jeffrey of Monmouth [*w*], and thoſe that apparently tranſcribe or follow him, ever mentions this gold cup.

However, whether afterwards they learned to work in gold by their commerce with the Britons, or by any correſpondence abroad, we are informed by an inſtrument in Thorne's chronicle, that Ethelbert, the firſt Chriſtian king of Kent, preſented to the monaſtery of St. Auguſtine near Canterbury " Miſſurium " etiam argenteum, ſcapton aureum, iterum ſellam cum freno " aureo et gemmis exornatam, ſpeculum argenteum, armigaiſia " oloſerica, camiſiam ornatam quod michi de domino papa " Gregorio ſedis apoſtolicae directum fuerat [*x*]." It is true theſe things were miſſing in Thorne's time, and perhaps the inſtrument itſelf may be ſpurious; but ſtill one has reaſon to believe the particulars here mentioned were once in being at that rich abbey, and even in St. Auguſtine's days. We muſt enquire into the meaning of the terms. By *Miſſurium* or *Miſſorium* [*y*],

[*w*] Galfred. Monum. vi. c. 12.

[*x*] Chron. Gul. Thorne inter X. ſcript. col. 1762.

[*y*] *Miſſorium*, quaſi *menſorium*; ſee Du Freſne: but Pere Daniel chuſes to deduce it from *mitto*: Hiſt. de France I. p. 66.

as

as it is otherwiſe written (which it ſeems was of ſilver), a diſh for the table is thought to be meant [z]; hence probably the French *mes*, and from this our *meſs*. The *ſcapton* was of gold, but then it is not certainly known what kind of veſſel (for I take it to be a veſſel, and not a ſceptre [*a*] as Mr. Somner ſuppoſes) this was; perhaps a cup of ſome kind. *Sella*, a ſaddle adorned with gems, which neceſſarily would require a ſetting; and a bridle, the bit whereof was of gold. *Speculum argenteum*, a reflecter, of metal probably, but in a ſilver frame; or, if you will, a ſilver reflecter, as the *ſpecula* now made of glaſs were antiently ſometimes formed of ſilver, amongſt other metals [*b*]. What follows relates to veſtments, and I need not dwell upon them.

WHEN Gregory the Great diſpatched Mellitus, Paulinus, and others, to aſſiſt Auguſtine in the affair of converting the Saxons, they brought with them ſome ſacred veſſels amongſt other things from the Pope [*c*], which, though made abroad, and probably at Rome, would ſerve as a pattern for the Saxon workmen here. Auguſtine and his aſſociates no doubt imported ſome, on their firſt arrival, which were uſeful for the ſame purpoſe; and both the ſets, deſigned for the ſervice of the church, and conſiſting conſequently of chalices, patens, baſons, &c. were certainly of plate [*d*].

IT appears from venerable Bede, that Oſwald king of Northumberland was ſerved in ſilver at his table on high feſtivals,

[z] Somner. Gloſſ. ad X Script. in voce. Du Freſne, vv. MISSORIUM, MISSURIUM, MESSORIUM, et MENSORIUM.

[*a*] See Du Freſne in voce.

[*b*] Calmet, Dict. v. LOOKING-GLASSES.

[*c*] Bede. l. c. 29.

[*d*] Johnſon, Vade mecum, II. p. 33. Collection of Canons, A. 785. art. 10. Ingulph. p. 27. See what is ſaid below of king Ina and biſhop Acca.

" poſitus

" posituſque eſſet in menſa coram eo *diſcus argenteus* [*e*] rega-
" libus epulis refertus;" and on one occaſion, as the ſtory has it, being informed by his Almoner that a multitude of poor people attended in the ſtreets for his alms, he ordered the victuals to be carried out, and the diſh to be broken in pieces and diſtributed among them [*f*]. This was before A. D. 642. And ſoon after we read, that Wilfred, archbiſhop of York, was maſter of a great quantity both of plate and jewels [*g*]. Malmſbury reports he was ſerved in gold and ſilver, " quod aureis et " argenteis vaſis ſibi miniſtrari faceret [*h*]." This prelate cauſed the ſcriptures to be richly bound with gold and precious ſtones. We ſhall meet with other as coſtly bindings below: and indeed books, the ſacred ones eſpecially, had their coverings often ornamented in theſe ages with gold, ſilver, and gems [*i*]; the former were in plates, but the laſt muſt of courſe be ſet.

KING Oſwald, A. 634, or ſoon after,

Extruit eccleſias doniſque exornat opimis,
Vaſa miniſteriis praeſtans pretioſa ſacratis
Argento, gemmis aras veſtivit et auro, &c.

Alcuin. ver. 275.

THE ſtory of the diſh is mentioned ver. 297. and the ſilver ſhrine alſo of king Oſwald at Bamborough, containing his arms, ver. 306.

KING Offa greatly enriched the ſhrine of king Oſwald at Bardney. Alcuin's words are,

Poſtea Rex felix ornaverat Offa ſepulchrum
Argento, gemmis, auro multoque decore,
Ut decus et ſpecimen tumbae per ſecla maneret, &c.

ver. 389.

[*e*] This I ſuppoſe was a Miſſarium. [*f*] Beda, III. c. 6.
[*g*] Eddius Stephanus, p. 87. Drake Eborac. p. 406.
[*h*] Gul. Malmelb. de Pontif. p. 262.
[*i*] Flor. Vigorn. p. 560. Sim. Dunelm. de Dun. Eccl. I. 12. Beda, p. 208. 690, 691. Edit. Smith. Pere Daniel, I. p. 69.

THE words of Eddius concerning Wilfrid, who died A. D. 677, are, "Nam quatuor Evangelia de auro puriſſimo in "membranis depurpuratis coloratis, pro animae ſuae remedio "ſcribere juſſit; necnon et bibliothecam librorum eorum "omnem *de auro puriſſimo, et gemmis pretioſiſſimis fabreſactam*, "*compaginare incluſores gemmarum* praecepit [*k*];" as if *incluſores gemmarum*, jewellers, were at that time common and ordinary artificers. Wilfrid had been often at Rome, and was otherwiſe a very conſiderable traveller, ſo that had artiſts in this particular branch been then wanting in thoſe Northern parts, he had various opportunities of procuring them from a diſtance; and we find from the caſe of Biſcop Benedict, who had frequently traverſed France, and A. 676 brought both maſons and glaſs-makers from thence [*l*], that it was no unuſual thing, in thoſe early ages, for our itinerants to import artificers from abroad.

BIRINUS, the apoſtle of Weſſex, was a Roman, and probably brought ſome holy veſſels to England, A. D. 634.

A. D. 668, archbiſhop Theodore entered the iſland from Rome, and, as muſt be preſumed, brought more ſacred veſſels, and perhaps artificers with him. Some veſſels were alſo imported by Biſcop Benedict, A. 676 [*m*], which afterwards, it is preſumed, became models for abbot Ceolfrid to follow [*n*].

WILFRID II. archbiſhop of York began to ſit A. 718, and Alcuin relates concerning him,

Plurima nam titulis ſanctae ornamenta venuſtis
Addidit eccleſiae, rutilo qui vaſa decore

[*k*] Eddius Steph. p. 60. See the epitaph on Wilfrid in Godwin de Praeſul. p. 654.

[*l*] Beda, Hiſt. Abbot. Wiremuth. p. 295.

[*m*] Ibid.

[*n*] Ibid. p. 299.

Apta

Apta miniſteriis argentea jure ſacratis
Fecit, et argenti laminis altare cruceſque
Taxerat auratis——

ver. 1222.

He tells us alſo of archbiſhop Egbert, who acceded A. 731, and was brother of king Eadbert,

Inque Dei domibus multa ornamenta paravit
Illas argento, gemmis veſtivit et auro.

ver. 1266.

Albert began to ſit at York, A. 767, and was the preceptor of the learned Alcuin, who has left us the following very ample account of his performances at that cathedral:

Namque ut bellipotens ſumſit baptiſmatis undam
Edwin rex, praeſul grandem conſtruxerat aram,
Texit et argento, gemmis ſimul undique et auro.
. . . . . .
Hoc altare farum [o] ſupra ſuſpenderat altum,
Qui tenet ordinibus tria grandia vaſa novenis:
Et ſublime crucis vexillum erexit ad aram,
Et totum texit pretioſis valde metallis.
Omnia magna ſatis, pulchro molimine ſtructa,
Argentique meri compenſant pondera multa.
Aſt altare aliud fecit, veſtivit et illud
Argento puro, pretioſis atque lapillis,
Martyribuſque crucique ſimul dedicaverat ipſum.
Juſſit ut obrizo non parvi ponderis auro

[o] A luſtre or chandelier, a creſſet.

Ampulla major fierat, qua vina ſacerdos
Funderet in calicem, ſolemnia ſacra celebrans.

ver. 1490.

ALBERT had not only been at Rome, [ſee Alcuin verſ. 1458], but Alcuin, the relater, was probably employed in his works at York, and at laſt inherited his library.

WHEN the body of St. John of Beverley, who died A. 721, was tranſlated into a new ſhrine about the year 1037, a ring among other things was found in his coffin [*p*]. This was a Biſhop's ring, and probably a rich one; and it is a loſs to us that it is not particularly deſcribed.

IN Mr. Drake's Eboracum, Appendix, p. cii. there is a noble gold ring inſcribed with Runic characters; it is probably ancient, and a prelatical ornament: but as the age cannot be preciſely determined, I thought proper to mention it in this place after St. John's.

WASTOLD, biſhop of Hereford, acceded A. 718, and died before 736; he began to make a very rich croſs, which was finiſhed by his ſucceſſor, who cauſed the following lines to be inſcribed upon it, as if the Saxons were then no ſtrangers to the art of engraving:

Haec veneranda crucis Chriſti veneranda ſacratae,
Coeperat antiſtes venerandus nomine *Walſtod*
Argenti atque auri fabricare monilibus amplis &c [*q*].

BEFORE A. D. 763, when an horſe was worth but three ounces of ſilver, an hunting-horn was eſtimated at ſix ounces, and conſequently muſt have been embelliſhed with ſilver. A trumpet about the ſame time was rated at twenty-eight cows,

[*p*] Dugd. Hiſt. of St. Paul's, part ii. p. 55.

[*q*] Godwin de Praeſul. p. 477. from Malmſb. de Pontif. p. 285. However, one of the *venerandа* in the firſt line muſt be wrong.—Perhaps we ſhould read the firſt *venerandae*, referring it to *crucis*, and *ſacrata* for *ſacratae*.

when an horſe was worth but four, whence one muſt ſuppoſe it to have been enriched by the goldſmith [*r*]. Cows at this juncture were the ſtandard of valuation in Wales, as the beaver-ſkin is now in Canada, and might be worth about 18 *s.* 9 *d.* apiece [*s*].

At Glaſtonbury the Saxons had croſſes plated with gold and ſilver. "In eccleſia Glaſtoniae eſt quaedam crux, merito "venerabilis, *auro et argento cooperta*, quae quondam locuta "eſt [*t*];" and below in the ſame page, "Eſt ibidem tertia "crux caeteris minor, populo tamen celebrior, *ab antiquo auro* "*argentoque veſtita*, &c." and king Ina of Weſſex, who died A. 727, and had been at Rome more than once, erected a chapel at Glaſtonbury, called the *ſilver chapel* [*u*], and furniſhed it moſt ſumptuouſly with all kinds of ſacred utenſils and ornaments. "Fecit etiam idem rex conſtruere quandam capellam "ex auro et argento, cum ornamentis et vaſis ſimiliter aureis "et argenteis, ac infra majorem collocavit. Ad capellam ita- "que conſtruendam duo millia et ſexcenta et quadraginta libras "argenti donavit, et altare [*w*] ex ducentis et ſexaginta quatuor "libris auri erat; calix cum patina de x libris auri; incenſa- "rium de viii libris et xx mancis auri; candelabra ex xii libris "& ix mancis auri; vas ad aquam benedictam ex xx libris ar- "genti; imago Domini et Beatae Mariae et duodecim apoſto- "lorum ex centum et lxxv libris argenti, & xxxviii libris auri;

[*r*] Godwin de Praeſul. p. 597.

[*s*] An ounce of ſilver, at this time, muſt be worth, at the loweſt, 1 *l.* 5 *s.*; a horſe conſequently was worth 3 *l.* 15 *s.*; and a cow, one quarter of that. The trumpet was therefore valued at 25 *l.* 4 *s* and the horn at 7 *l.* 10 *s.*

[*t*] Gul Malmſb. de Antiq. Glaſt. Eccl. p. 304.

[*u*] This ſeems to have been an oratory within the great church.

[*w*] There was probably a table of gold; ſee below.

"palla

" palla altaris, et ornamenta ſacerdotalia undique auro et lapi-
" dibus pretioſis ſubtiliter contexta [*x*]." I make no doubt but the workmanſhip of theſe veſſels and pieces was equal to the materials, and excellent in the ſeveral kinds, though perhaps it might be exceeded by the performances of St. Dunſtan afterwards, who was abbat here, and was particularly eminent in the art of jewelry [*y*]. The monaſteries, in his time, were univerſally poſſeſſed of immenſe treaſure [*z*].

ACCA, biſhop of Hexham, was diſplaced from his ſee, for ſome unknown cauſe, A. 732, after repleniſhing his church with jewels in the moſt magnificent manner, " Porro beatae
" memoriae adhuc vivens gratia Domini Acca epiſcopus, qui [*a*]
" magnalia ornamenta hujus multiplicis domus de auro et ar-
" gento, lapidibuſque pretioſis, et quomodo altaria purpura et
" ſerico induta decoravit, quis ad explanandum ſufficere
" poterat [*b*];" by which, I conceive, we are to underſtand, that the veſſels of gold and ſilver were garniſhed and ſet with gems. Acca had been at Rome, and reſided there ſome time [*c*].

OFFA, the great king of Mercia, who died 796, was poſſeſſed of gems to a conſiderable value, and his workmen well knew how to ſet them to advantage. When the body of St. Alban was diſcovered, he adorned the ſkull with a golden circle, or diadem, on which were engraved theſe words,

Hoc eſt caput Sancti Albani Anglorum Prothomartyris [*d*];

and moreover cauſed the coffin or ſhrine, in which the body

[*x*] Malmſb. ibid. p. 310.
[*y*] Eadmerus in vit. Dunſtani, p. 94. 96. compared Higden, p. 270, or
[illegible] col. 858.
[illegible] p. 14.
[illegible] *quomodo.*
[illegible] p. 34.

[*b*] Eddius Stephanus, p. 62.
[*d*] M. Paris, vit. Offae, p. 28.

lay,

ſay, to be plated with gold and ſilver and pretious ſtones, "Rex igitur Offa chriſtianiſſimus locellum memoratum *laminis* "*aureis argenteis gemmiſque pretioſis* de theſauro ſuo magnifice "ſumptis decenter adornari-----juſſit [*e*]" and it appears afterwards in the ſame author, that this ſplendid prince had beſtowed many other valuables on his newly-founded church of St. Albans; for M. Paris, ſpeaking of Vulſige, the third abbot of that houſe, who was a great dilapidator, and waſter of the convent's goods, ſays, "Vaſa, quae rex Offa contulerat concupiſcibilia, "pallas et *monilia* (quorum jactura erat irreſtaurabilis) aliena-"vit [*f*]." Offa not only lived in cloſe intimacy with Charlemagne, but had ſpent an whole year at Rome; and A. D. 784 two legates from the Pope arrived and ſtaid in England ſome time [*g*]. In brief, there is evidence ſufficient of the advanced ſtate of the mechanical arts in the kingdom of Mercia at this time in the elegance of Offa's coins; for I ſuppoſe it may be aſſumed generally, that as theſe arts are reciprocally connected, wherever there exiſted a terſeneſs and beauty in the mints, there neceſſarily was an equally good taſte and delicacy in embroidery and jewelry, drawing, engraving, caſting, &c.

To draw nearer to the ſuppoſed age of our ring; Egbert the Great, king of Weſſex, reſided in his younger age not leſs than twelve years in the court of Charlemagne [*b*]; and it is not improbable, that ſome artificers in the enameling way might be brought into England from abroad by him. Charles was a great patron of arts and ſciences, and had a commanding intereſt and influence in Italy, ſo that the very beſt hands of thoſe times muſt neceſſarily have abounded at the places of his reſidence. He wanted not materials for thoſe artiſts to work upon,

[*e*] M. Paris, ibid. p. 28.
[*s*] Rapin, p. 75.
[*f*] Idem, ibid. p. 37.
[*b*] Idem, p. 62.

neither

neither gold, ſilver, nor gems [*i*]. The riches he acquired in Pannonia were immenſe [*k*]. His own crown, and that of Lewis his ſon, were of gold; his ſwords had hilts of gold or ſilver, and that which he wore on ſolemn occaſions was ſet with ſtones [*l*]. It is ſaid again, "in feſtivitatibus veſte auro "texta, et *calceamentis gemmatis, & fibula aurea ſagum aſtrin-* "*gente, diademate quoque ex auro et gemmis ornatus* incedebat [*m*]." Louis le Debonnaire, at the time of his death, which happened 840, was poſſeſſed of an infinity of jewels [*n*]. Whereupon it ſhould be conſidered, that a long and frequent intercourſe had ſubſiſted between the Saxons and Franks. Many of the former, as has been occaſionally remarked, had paſſed backwards and forwards through France in their way to Rome [*o*], whither our prelates were continually going. Ethelbert king of Kent married a French lady [*p*], as Edbald alſo did [*q*]; Sigebert king of Eaſt Anglia reſided in France ſome time, and on his return brought Felix a Burgundian along with him to England [*r*]. A Scots prieſt educated in France was ſent to Finan to reconcile him to the Roman mode of keeping Eaſter [*s*]. Agilbert, made biſhop of Dorcheſter A. 630 [*t*], was actually a

[*i*] Eginhart, c. 26, 27. 33. Pere Daniel, I. p. 472. It appears from many places in the firſt volume of this author, that France, both now and before, abounded with gold and jewels, as p 69. 200. 293.

[*k*] Eginhart, c. 13.

[*l*] Idem, c. 23. The prelates in theſe times often wore hangers with gems. P. Daniel, I. p. 522.

[*m*] Ibidem; et vide P. Daniel, I. p. 483.

[*n*] P. Daniel, I. p. 592.

[*o*] See alſo Rapin, I. p. 53, 54. 57. 68. 74.—not to mention Cadwalla, p. 61. and the Saxon merchants, p. 65. nor Auguſtine's Journey to Arles, p. 66.

[*p*] See Rapin, p. 65. [*q*] Idem, p. 58.

[*r*] Idem, p. 55. 76. [*s*] Idem, p. 71. [*t*] Idem, p. 74.

Franc,

Franc, and Wina biſhop of Wincheſter had been bred and conſecrated in France [*u*], of which country Eleutherius biſhop of Wincheſter alſo was [*w*]. We have ſeen above various inſtances of the Saxons reſorting to the court of Charlemagne [*x*] (not to mention the learned Alcuin) and their connections therewith. Many alſo went abroad for their improvement in monachiſm, or education, for, as Dr. Hopkins writes, "cum pauca aut "nulla tunc temporis extiterunt in *Anglia* monaſteria, multi "religionis amore aut eruditionis gratia in *Galliam* tranſierunt, "teſte Beda, Hiſt. Eccl. III. 8 [*y*]."

I RETURN to Egbert. He was a greater and more powerful monarch than any of his predeceſſors, either in Weſſex, or the other ſtates of the heptarchy; and on a coin is decorated with a radiated diadem, a regal ornament probably ſeen and obſerved by him on the coins, both Roman and Francic [*z*], abroad; and which, ſuppoſing him to have actually worn ſuch an *inſigne*, as in reaſon we ought to ſuppoſe, muſt have been made by one of his goldſmiths. Lucida, the Mercian, who was contemporary with Egbert, is adorned with a crown of the ſame kind; but then it muſt be acknowledged that Egbert on another piece has a radiant crown of four pearls [*a*]. To ſay a word here of the *kynghelms*, as they were called [*b*], of theſe times. St. Edwin of Northumberland, according to thoſe who take that coin in Sir Andrew Fountaine's fifth table to be his, wears a radiated

[*u*] Idem, ibid. [*w*] Idem, ibid.

[*x*] See in particular the ſtory of queen Edburga and the Engliſh gentleman, Rapin, p. 62.

[*y*] Hickes, Theſaur. II. p. 116.

[*z*] Le Blanc, p. 16. 22. 58. in the plate.

[*a*] Sir Andrew Fountaine, tab. viii.

[*b*] i. e. Cynchelmes. Selden, Tit. of Honours, p. 172. Ed. 1631. Lye's Dict. v. Cynehealm.

circle or diadem; but that piece, as has been lately ſhewn [*c*], belongs not to him, but to Edward the Confeſſor, the ornaments of whoſe head are various. Offa [*d*], and Cynethrith, and Cuthred of Weſſex, wear a ſtring of pearls like ſome of the Franks; Offa, however, in ſome pennies, has a plain fillet, as Ethelwulf and Burgred alſo have. Athelſtan king of Kent has an helmet given to him [*e*]. So that to judge from the coin, and one knows not where elſe to apply, Egbert was the firſt that took the radiated crown, and the crown raiſed with pearls.

To proceed. Wiglaf, king of Mercia A. 833, gave to the abbey of Croyland "calicem aureum, crucem auream, et tabulam ca-"pellae propriae laminis aureis deauratam [*f*]," where by *tabula* is meant the flat or upper part of the altar, which was not only gilt, but covered with old plates [*g*]. The king ſays again, "Offero etiam refectorario dicti monaſterii, ad uſum praeſi-"dentis quotidie in refectorio, ſcyphum meum deauratum, et "per totam partem exteriorem barbaris vinitoribus ad dracones "pugnantibus caelatum, quem *crucibolum* meum ſolitus ſum "vocare, quia ſignum crucis per tranſverſum ſcyphi imprimitur "interius, cum quatuor angulis ſimili impreſſione protuberanti-"bus; et cornu menſae meae, ut ſenes monaſterii bibant inde in "feſtis ſanctorum, &c [*b*]." The cup was of ſilver gilt [*i*], and was partly ornamented with engraving, and partly emboſſed; the drinking horn, which was his own royal utenſil, and was only to be uſed on feſtivals at the abbey, was richly garniſhed, no doubt, with ſilver at leaſt, if not with gold. This king abounded with jewels, and at the ſame time having great ob-

[*c*] Diſſertation annexed to Aſſemblage of Metropolitan Coins of Canterbury.

[*d*] Sir Andrew Fountaine, tab. viii. and tab. i. N° ii. for I take this coin to be his.

[*e*] Ibidem, tab. ii. N° 8. [*f*] Ingulphus, p. 8.

[*g*] Idem, p. 22. [*b*] Idem, p. 9. 98. 106. [*i*] Idem, p. 27.

ligations

ligations to this houſe [*k*], it is written of him "omni anno "vitae ſuae ſaltem ſemel feretrum Sancti Guthlaci cum multa "compunctione viſitaret, et *aliquod pretioſum* notabileque jocale "offerret [*l*]." Other kings of Mercia beſides Wiglaf had been alſo benefactors to Croyland in the way of preſenting jewels; for Ingulphus, ſpeaking of Bertulph, ſays, he plundered and carried away "quaecunque frater ſuus Withlafius, *vel alii reges* "*Merciorum jocalia plurima* in ſanctae eccleſiae ornamentum "larga manu contulerant [*m*]." The monks of Croyland, to prevent their rich moveables from falling into the hands of the Danes A. 870, threw into a well "tabulam magni altaris la-"minis aureis contectam-----decemque calices cum lavatoriis "pelvibus, ollis, patellis, et aliis vaſis aeneis [*n*];" where the chalices and baſons, we muſt ſuppoſe, were of ſilver, the reſt of braſs; the plated altar table was at this juncture irrecoverably loſt; and in the year 874, the valuables of this houſe were in a manner totally annihilated. "Tum omnes calices monaſterii "praeter tres, ac vaſa argentea univerſa praeter *crucibolum* With-"lafii regis, ac alia jocalia valde pretioſa, vel in monetam mutata, "vel pro moneta vendita, vix inſatiabilem ingluviem Ceolwlphi "ſubreguli ſaturare voluerunt [*o*]." Have we not reaſon good for believing, that in theſe days the Mercians could work very finely in gold? and yet they were tributaries to Egbert the Great.

KING Ethelwulf, ſucceſſor of Egbert, not only ſent his youngeſt ſon to Rome, but lived an whole year there himſelf [*p*], and on his return brought with him a queen from France. He

[*k*] Rapin, p. 64. [*l*] Ingulph. p. 11. 22. [*m*] Idem, p. 11.
[*n*] Idem, p. 22. [*o*] Idem, p. 27.

[*p*] R. Higden, p. 253. Our Kings, prelates, and their agents, had been perpetually going to Rome long before this. Hence in the Saxon chronicle, A. 889. it is noted as a thing remarkable, that nobody went to Rome that year, but only two couriers.

erected a ſhrine at Malmeſbury for St. Aldhelm, "quo ſancti "Confeſſoris oſſa locaret; in anteriori parte ex ſolido argento "jactis imaginibus; in poſteriore vero *levato metallo miracula* "*figuravit* quae jam ſermo depromſit, unde putatum eſt hunc "fuiſſe librum vitae in quo iſta legerit, ſed poſtea tempore "Danorum omiſſum: *faſtigium cryſtallinum* rex Ethelwlfus ap-"poſuit ſcrinio, in quo nomen ejus *literis aureis eſt legere* [q]." Whence it appears, that at this time, and during the incumbency of biſhop Alhſtan, the Saxons could both work in relief, or rather chaſe, one of which arts muſt be intended by *levato metallo miracula figuravit*, and knew how to cut cryſtal or gems, ſo as to inſcribe letters upon them. In this reign our biſhop was moſt active and flouriſhing, and the moſt powerful ſubject, excepting the king's ſons, in the kingdom.

Is it not clear from this detail, that in the middle of the ninth century, and long before king Aelfred was at leiſure to inſtruct his goldſmiths, the Saxons might very well be able to finiſh a ring of equal taſte and excellence with this? and that, when the name of Alhſtan appears ſo plainly upon it, and that in all probability it is a prelatical ring, one has good reaſon to aſcribe it to the biſhop of Sherburne, as its proper owner? Let the learned judge, to whoſe candour and conſideration I willingly defer.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

July 6, 1771.
Whittington.

[q] Gul. Malmeſb. de Pontif. V. p. 359.

V. *An Account of Human Bones filled with Lead. In a Letter from Mr.* Worth, *late of* Diſs, *F. A. S. to* Edward King, *Eſq. With Obſervations thereon by Dr.* Hunter.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 9, 1774.

SIR, Diſs, Norfolk, June 6, 1774.

I HAVE taken the liberty of tranſmitting to you a bone, which ſeems to be extremely ſingular. It was found in making a grave in the chancel of Badwell Aſh, near Walſham le Willows in Suffolk (in Blackbourn hundred), about the middle of laſt April. The ſexton of this pariſh, after removing the pavement and about two feet of the earth, came upon a vaulted arch, which was ſo very ſtrongly cemented together, that it was with great difficulty he broke through it. After he had removed the upper part of this arch, he proceeded to throw out the contents of the vault, which was made to contain only one coffin, and in which were a number of bones that appeared to have been depoſited there a long time, and ſome of the mould which he let fall in, in breaking through the arch; but no appearance either of wood, or lead coffin. Upon his caſting the bones out, he thought ſome of them ſeemed to weigh very heavy; on which he took ſeveral of them into his hands, and found to his ſurprize that they appeared to be filled with lead; or (to uſe his expreſſion) to have had lead run into them: this ſtrange circumſtance ſoon invited the neighbouring people to

pick them up; and a friend of mine acquainting me with it, I went to the church, and got this ſpecimen of the ſexton, being the only one then left. This is the lower part of the Os Femoris, and is ten inches long. It weighs four pounds, ſix ounces, two drachms, avoirdupois; and every part of the bone is filled, almoſt equally alike, and even the ſolid as well as the cellular parts are quite incorporated with pure lead, which evidently ſhews itſelf, on cutting into any part of it; but a great deal of the former is broken off. I believe, Sir, I may venture to aſſert, that this very extraordinary effect cannot be imitated by any means we know of; and that lead, in its moſt perfect ſtate of fuſion, cannot be injected ſimilar to this, and I can only gueſs how this could have happened. I conjecture it to have taken place from one of theſe two cauſes; viz. either from lightning; or elſe from ſome ſubterraneous vapours taking fire in the vault. The affinity of lightning to metals, and its wonderful effects, leave ſome room to imagine it might poſſibly have been from that. But then, on the other hand, no accident having ever happened in the memory of man to the church or pavement, and the ſolidity of the arch, leaves us room to attribute it rather to a ſubterraneous fire, and the ſituation of the church rather ſtrengthens this ſurmiſe, it not being more than four or five hundred yards from a tract of low meadows; and I ſhould think the bottom of the vault to be nearly on a level with the ſurface of the meadows; and in theſe ſituations the inflammable vapours are moſtly ſeen: but I leave you, Sir, to judge of it with more propriety than I am able to do, theſe being only my own crude thoughts.

I am, SIR, with much reſpect,
Your moſt obedient ſervant,
J. WORTH.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the above Bone. By Dr. HUNTER.

"THIS ſpecimen is the lower half of an adult thigh-bone. The metal contained appears to be genuine unmixed lead; that is, not reduced to an amalgam, or mixed with any thing that would make it melt with a ſmall degree of heat: and it appears to be but little corroded on its ſurface.

LITTLE more of the bone itſelf remains than the ſpungy internal part which had contained the marrow; the ſolid, cortical or external part of the bone being every where removed, except at the lower part forwards, and a little of the ſurface which had made the joint, and eſpecially at the cavity between the two condyles.

THE lead is all granulated, correſponding to the medullary cavities and pores; and the interſtices contain the bony remains, which are of the common brown colour of church-yard bones, and do not appear burnt.

AT the enlarged extremity of the bone the cells are more partially filled; ſome containing lead, ſome being quite empty, and many of them containing a hard, brittle, whitiſh ſtony ſubſtance, which effervesces with a ſpirit of ſea-ſalt.

AT the lower extremity, the lead had run upon the ſurface of the bone, in ſome parts forming thin plates, and in one place making an irregular maſs, cloſely covered with earth and gravel.

FROM the appearance, the natural ſuppoſition would be that the lead had been poured into the medullary canal after the marrow had been conſumed by time.

THE ſpecimen of a bone upon which I have made the experiment is exactly ſimilar, except that it is more imperfectly filled, and has a little more of the burnt appearance."

MR.

MR. King ſhewed this bone to Dr. Fothergill, who alſo thought it *poſſible* to fill the cellular part of human bones with lead, when, after many years, they are become quite dry; and ſuggeſted, that this might perhaps be a method ſometimes uſed to preſerve relicks. And it is certain, that bones ſo filled have been met with in other places. A ſkeleton was diſcovered, a few years ago, in the church at Newport Pagnel, which had all the bones thus fully ſaturated with lead: and there are ſome bones, in the ſame ſtate, in the library of St. John's college in Cambridge.

VII. *Remarks on the Antiquity and the different Modes of Brick and Stone Buildings in* England. *By Mr.* James Essex *of* Cambridge.

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 8, &c. 1774.

THOUGH Britain contains within itself all the materials necessary for building, it is probable the ancient inhabitants lived in holes and caverns of rocks, or formed themselves huts, which they covered with turf supported by branches of trees bound together with twigs of ozier. In after-ages, when commerce brought the Phoenicians and other civilized nations acquainted with them, they learned from those strangers many useful arts. But their habitations, according to Caesar, were in his time little improved, their towns were only a confused parcel of huts, placed at a little distance from each other, without order or distinction of streets; they generally stood in the middle of a wood, the avenues whereof were defended with slight ramparts of earth, or with trees that had been felled to clear the ground. Such habitations, though neither elegant nor convenient, were suited to the plain and simple manners of the inhabitants. In such buildings we find little or no use for stone or brick; and yet they could not be so unacquainted with the use of stone, as might be expected from this account of

their towns and villages: for, if Stone-Henge was a Britiſh work, though we are uncertain in what age it was erected, we muſt allow they had ſome ſkill in maſonry at that time. But we have nothing of Britiſh architecture remaining now, on which the marks of the chizel appear, except this valuable piece of antiquity; nor any kind of maſonry, by which we can determine with certainty, what ſort of materials were uſed by them before the arrival of the Romans. Mr. Whitaker indeed thought he had diſcovered in the year 1766, in the Caſtle-field at Mancheſter, the foundations of a building, which he ſays were laid in a manner which clearly beſpoke them Britiſh [*a*].

"About half a yard below the ſurface of the ground was a "layer of large irregular blocks, ſome hewn from the quarry "of Collyhurſt, and others collected from the channel of the "river, and below it were three layers of common paving "ſtones, which were not compacted together with mortar, but "bedded in the rude and primitive cement of clay. Such was "the ſtructure of this ſecret foundation which was about two "yards in breadth and about one in depth, and as ſuch it ap-"pears to have been very ancient. As ſuch it muſt have been "laid before the preparation of lime for the purpoſes of build-"ing had been introduced among us, and conſequently before "the Siſtuntii had been ſubdued by the Romans." From this deſcription of the foundation, it is difficult to determine with any certainty by whom or when it was laid: for, though we ſhould allow the Britons had ſome ſkill in maſonry before the Siſtuntii had been ſubdued by the Romans, it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to diſtinguiſh their works from others, unleſs they appear in the form of Druidic temples or altars. But where nothing but the ſubſtructure of a building remains, it is impoſſible to determine from that alone, whether it was Britiſh

[*a*] Hiſtory of Mancheſter.

or

or Roman, or whether it was the work of after-ages, unleſs we can prove that the Britons had a peculiar method of working, which the Romans never uſed, nor any other people ſince the time of the Romans: or that they employed in their work ſome ſort of materials, which we are certain were not uſed by any but themſelves. By the breadth of the foundation diſcovered in the Caſtle-field, it appears to have been made for the ſupport of ſome conſiderable building; not of timber like the huts or hovels of the Britons, but of ſtone: and whether it was Britiſh or Roman, there is no doubt but the ſtones in the ſuperſtructure (if its height was proportioned to the breadth and depth of the foundation) were cemented with lime prepared for that purpoſe; there being many buildings, ancient and modern, built with ſtones and mortar, whoſe foundations are laid with rough ſtones, and clay inſtead of mortar; as will appear, if we examine the ſeveral methods of laying foundations in different ages. The cuſtoms and manners of the Britons before Caeſar's invaſion are ſo little known, that nothing certain can be collected relating to them; and what may be gathered from his account ſeems but imperfect, as he had little opportunity in either of his expeditions to ſee much of them, or learn more than he might have collected from their neighbours the Gauls. It will therefore be in vain to enquire into their manner of building, or the materials uſed by them, before the Romans had gained a ſettlement among them; ſince all that can be ſaid on the ſubject muſt be meer conjecture: but from the works which the Romans have left in various parts of the world, we find they were generally very careful in laying the foundations of their walls. They uſually dug till they came to ſolid ground, as Vitruvius directs [*b*], and into it as far as was ne-

[*b*] Lib. i. ch. v.

ceſſary to ſupport the weight of the wall they intended to erect upon it: and if they found the ground ſoft or marſhy, they dug into it as far as they could, and ſtrengthened it with piles of alder, olive, or oak, a little ſinged; which being driven near together, they filled up the ſpaces between with charcoal. The heads of the piles being made level, they began their foundation with ſuch rough ſtones as they found near the place, or could procure with leaſt trouble; which they laid in clay if they found it near, or with any other material in which they could bed them. But when they found the ground ſolid and fit to build on, they dug as far into it as they judged neceſſary, and after ſettling it well with rammers, they began their foundation upon the natural ſoil whether clay or gravel, with ſuch rough materials as they found near at hand—*ubi ſunt ſaxa quadrata, ſive ſilex, ſive caementum, aut coctus later, ſive crudus, his erit utendum.* Vitruv. l. i. cap. v. In this manner they laid the foundation of the ſtationary wall at Mancheſter with paving ſtones bedded in the primitive clay, though the ſuperſtructure was laid with lime [*c*]. In the ſame manner they laid the foundations of the walls at the town of Burrough-field on the Foſs in Leiceſterſhire, where the ſtones were ſet edgewiſe in clay, but the ſuperſtructure was laid with lime mortar: and at the Roman ſtation of Aldborough in Yorkſhire, the walls of the town appear to have been built upon layers of large pebbles laid upon a bed of blue clay four or five yards in depth. In like manner the lower courſes of Severus's wall are laid in clay, but the upper parts are cemented with mortar [*d*]. From theſe and other examples which might be produced, it appears, that the foundations in the Caſtle-field were laid in a manner

[*c*] Hiſtory of Mancheſter.
[*d*] Appendix to the Hiſtory of Mancheſter.

commonly

commonly practiſed by the Romans: and unleſs it can be proved that *they adopted the Britiſh mode of building without the Britiſh neceſſity for it* [*e*], we may with reaſon ſuppoſe thoſe foundations were Roman, rather than Britiſh: for if their huts and hovels were ſuch as Caeſar has deſcribed, they certainly required no foundations of ſtone to ſupport them; and it does not appear that they made any artificial foundations to ſupport thoſe large ſtones, which they ſet up in their places of worſhip. But this method of laying foundations was not peculiar to the Romans, or to any other people ſince their time; for it was uſed in every age and country from that time to this. Alberti ſays [*f*], the ancients uſed coarſe pit gravel, and common ſtone, which they picked up by chance, which have laſted many years; and upon pulling down a very high ſtrong tower at Bologna in Italy, they diſcovered that the foundations were filled with nothing but round ſtones and chalk to the height of nine feet, the other parts being built with mortar. And in England, the old ſteeple of the church at Prees in Shropſhire was lately found to be raiſed upon a courſe of boulders and clay immediately above the natural rock [*g*]. The Saxons and Normans built after the Roman manner, and uſed the ſame methods of laying their foundations, with or without piles as occaſion required. The foundations of many conſiderable buildings were piled [*h*]. London bridge, begun in 1176, was built on piles; and the foundations of the ancient ſtone bridge over the river Grant (from which Grantbruge takes its name) were

[*e*] Hiſtory of Mancheſter.

[*f*] Lib. iii. c. v.

[*g*] Hiſtory of Mancheſter.

[*h*] The church of Croyland abbey in Lincolnſhire, built in the year 716, was founded on piles.

piled;

piled; and though we are ignorant of the time when it was built, we are certain it muſt be very ancient.

THE builders of the fifteenth century had another method of laying foundations without mortar, ſomewhat different from their predeceſſors. They dug their trench as deep and wide as they judged neceſſary for the walls they had to build, and having made the bottom of it very level, they made it as firm as they could by ramming it. On this they ſpread an uniform ſtratum of ſand or gravel ſix or eight inches thick, which being likewiſe well rammed, they laid upon it a thin coat of aſhes or lime core. This being ſettled in the ſame manner, another ſtratum of gravel or ſand five or ſix inches thick, and ſometimes a layer of lome or clay upon that, compleated the ſubſtructure; which being alſo well rammed, the reſt of the foundation was raiſed to the level of the ground with rough ſtones and mortar, or with rough ſtones and clay inſtead of mortar, where the ſoil produced clay. I cannot ſay whether this method of laying foundations was uſed much earlier than the fifteenth century; but from the ſuperſtructures of thoſe I have ſeen, they appeared to be of that age: but they are ſometimes found without any buildings upon them, and when cut tranſverſely may be known by the ſeveral ſtrata appearing in ſtripes of different colours: but when they are cut the contrary way, it is difficult to diſtinguiſh them from made ground that has been raiſed at different times. It is almoſt as difficult to diſtinguiſh the age of a building by the maſonry uſed in it, when nothing more than the plain walls appear, as it is to diſtinguiſh when a foundation was laid, by the materials and manner of laying it only. We find the ſeveral ſpecies of maſonry, which the Romans introduced, were uſed by the Saxon, the Norman, and more modern maſons, notwithſtanding the various ſtyles of

architecture which prevailed in different ages. But though it is probable, the ſeveral ſpecies of maſonry uſed in Britain were introduced by the Romans; it is certain the Britons uſed ſtone long before the Romans were ſettled among them, or before Cæſar invaded their country. How they acquired the art of cutting ſtones, and erecting them in circular or other figures, will eaſily be conceived, when we conſider the traffick they are ſuppoſed to have carried on with the Phoenicians and Egyptians; either of whom could have furniſhed them with men, if not materials, for erecting ſuch a work as Stone-henge; ſuch temples being very common among thoſe people, as they were among the Hebrews and other nations before the time of the written law, until the Tabernacle was erected by Moſes. In Stone-henge we find the maſons imitated the work of the carpenter, by connecting the ſtones with mortices and tenons; and it is probable, in thoſe parts of the iſland where timber was ſcarce and ſtones plenty, they uſed them for building huts, whoſe door-poſts and lintels were made of ſtones framed together after the ſame manner, as in ſome places, where there is ſtone fit for the purpoſe, they now make poſts and rails of them inſtead of timber: and thus far we may ſuppoſe the Britons had advanced in the art of maſonry before the Romans were ſettled among them. It is ſaid, that after Agricola had compleated the conqueſt of the country and civilized its inhabitants, by inducing them to adopt the cuſtoms of the Romans, they began to erect temples, noble porticos, and many fine ſtructures both public and private, of a very different taſte from any that had hitherto been ſeen among them. But it may be doubted, whether all that has been ſaid of thoſe fine ſtructures which once adorned Britain be true, there being no remains of temples or porticos, nor of the baſes, ſhafts, or capitals of the columns which once adorned them; nor any other fragment of an order,

from

from which we can form the leaſt idea of their ſkill in architecture or ſculpture, if we except a few altars, &c. which are ſo wretchedly executed, that they would at this time diſgrace the hand of a common maſon: and it may indeed be doubted, whether thoſe arts ever arrived to any degree of perfection in Britain while the Romans were maſters of it; architecture declining very faſt after the time of Auguſtus, when it was in its greateſt perfection at Rome: and how much it was degenerated in the time of Dioclefian and Conſtantine, may be ſeen in the building of that age; particularly in the palace at Spalatro, and other buildings ſaid to be erected in the time of Conſtantine; among which we muſt not include what is called his arch at Rome, as that may be ranked among the fineſt pieces of ancient architecture, and was erected in the time of Trajan, when the arts were in greater perfection.

" But, that the Britons in Roman times were great artiſts in " building, and had numerous workmen, Dr. Stukeley ſays [*i*], " we have a ſignal proof; ſince about the time of our Emperor " Carauſius, they were forced in Gaul to ſend for maſons into " Britain, to rebuild their cities and public buildings, deſtroyed " by the frequent irruptions of the Franks, and other German " nations." As Carauſius made Britain the chief place of his reſidence, without doubt he employed many men in public works to ſecure that part of the empire he had uſurped; but that Emperor had little leiſure, during the ſix years of his reign, to erect many buildings for the ornament of his country, except walls and fortifications; which required the ſkill of an engineer more than the taſte of an architect: and it is probable, that Conſtantius after the defeat of Allectus found many of that ſort

[*i*] Archæologia, vol. i. p. 39.

of

of workmen in Britain; and as he was at that time reſtoring the city of Autun, he ſent a number of them to that place to aſſiſt in rebuilding the walls of it.

We have very few remains of Roman work in England in which hewn ſtones have been uſed, and it is rather difficult to determine what is Roman. The late lord Burlington ſuppoſed, that Micklegate at York was Roman [*k*]; but had he examined it with attention, he would (with more probability) have pronounced it Norman. There are indeed other works of that age which ſome have thought were Roman, becauſe they find in them the ſame kind of materials, and the ſame method of diſpoſing them. But theſe marks are not always to be depended on; for the ſame ſort of materials and method of working which had been uſed by the Romans, were uſed by the Saxons and Normans, long after their departure from Britain; as will appear, if we examine the ſeveral ſpecies of maſonry introduced by them. But when we find the materials, the workmanſhip, and the ſtyle of building, all conformable to that age, we may venture to pronounce them Roman, eſpecially when they are found in a place which thoſe people had long inhabited, and where other works are found which were evidently executed by them. Of this ſort is the South front of the North gate of the city of Lincoln, and what remains of the South gate; for the materials are ſuch as the country produces, the form of the arch and the method of conſtructing it are in the Roman manner; and that the place where it ſtands was formerly inhabited by the Romans, the variety of ancient inſcriptions and other valuable remains of antiquity which have been found there ſuf-

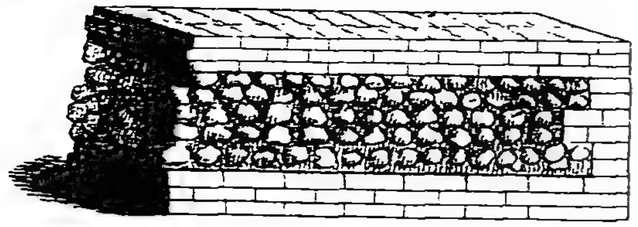
[*k*] Drake's Hiſtory of York. It was his lordſhip's opinion, that the arch of Mickle-gate was either Roman, or built ſince Inigo Jones's time.

ficiently teſtify. In what age this gate was erected, is uncertain; but from the plain and ſimple ſtyle of it, we may ſuppoſe it was built at a time when architecture was not in a flouriſhing ſtate in any part of the Roman empire. The deſign however was not bad. If we may judge of the whole from the part which remains *, it will appear that the architect had ſome knowledge of proportions, though the workmen had little ſkill in maſonry; the whole being executed in a rude but ſubſtantial manner, ſuch as might be expected from the hands of ſuch maſons as are commonly employed in building rough walls and fortifications. At preſent there appears no more of it than the center arch, and part of one of the ſmall arches, the other being covered by an adjoining houſe, and the piers which ſupport them buried by the ground which has been raiſed to the height of the impoſts of the ſide arches; but as there are yet remaining ſome traces of a regular deſign, we may form ſome judgement of what it was. The ſtones are ſo much eaten by time, that it is difficult to take any meaſures with certainty: but by comparing the ſeveral meaſures of the parts with each other, I find that in ſetting out the deſign, the architect made uſe of a module for regulating all the parts, which is nearly equal to three feet nine inches of Engliſh meaſure, and probably was intended for two and a half Roman cubits. The ſeveral parts being meaſured by this module are as follows. The diameter of the great arch is four modules; the diameter of each ſide arch two modules; the breadth of each pier is one module. From theſe meaſures we may ſuppoſe the height of the center arch was ſix modules; of the ſide arches four modules, the whole width of the front twelve modules, and the height of it ten modules. All the ſtones of which the arches are formed are cut

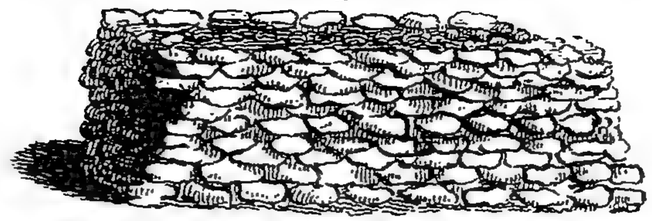
* See Pl. III. fig. ii.

in

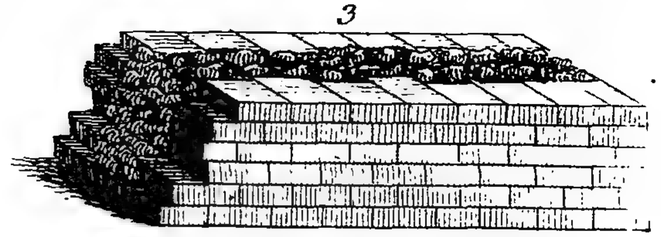
1



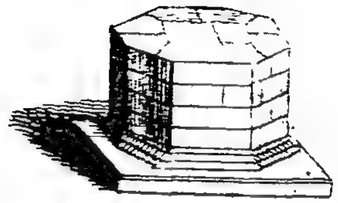
2



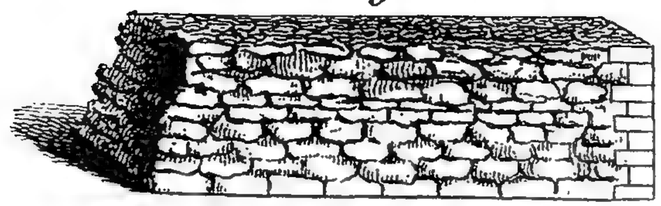
3



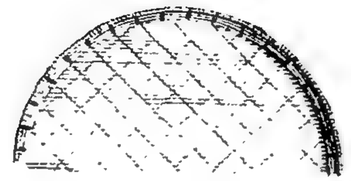
4



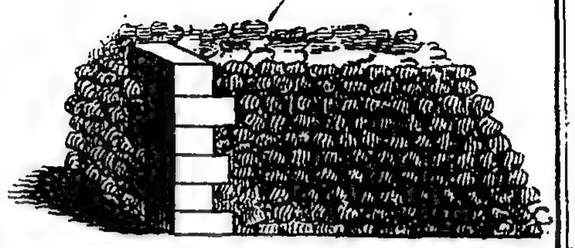
5



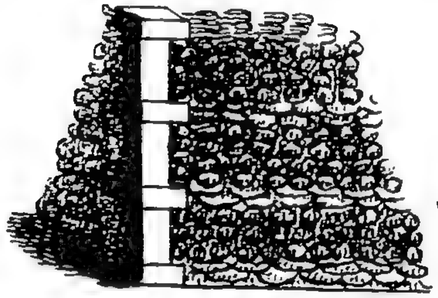
6



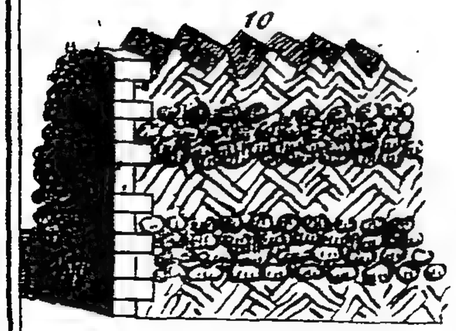
7



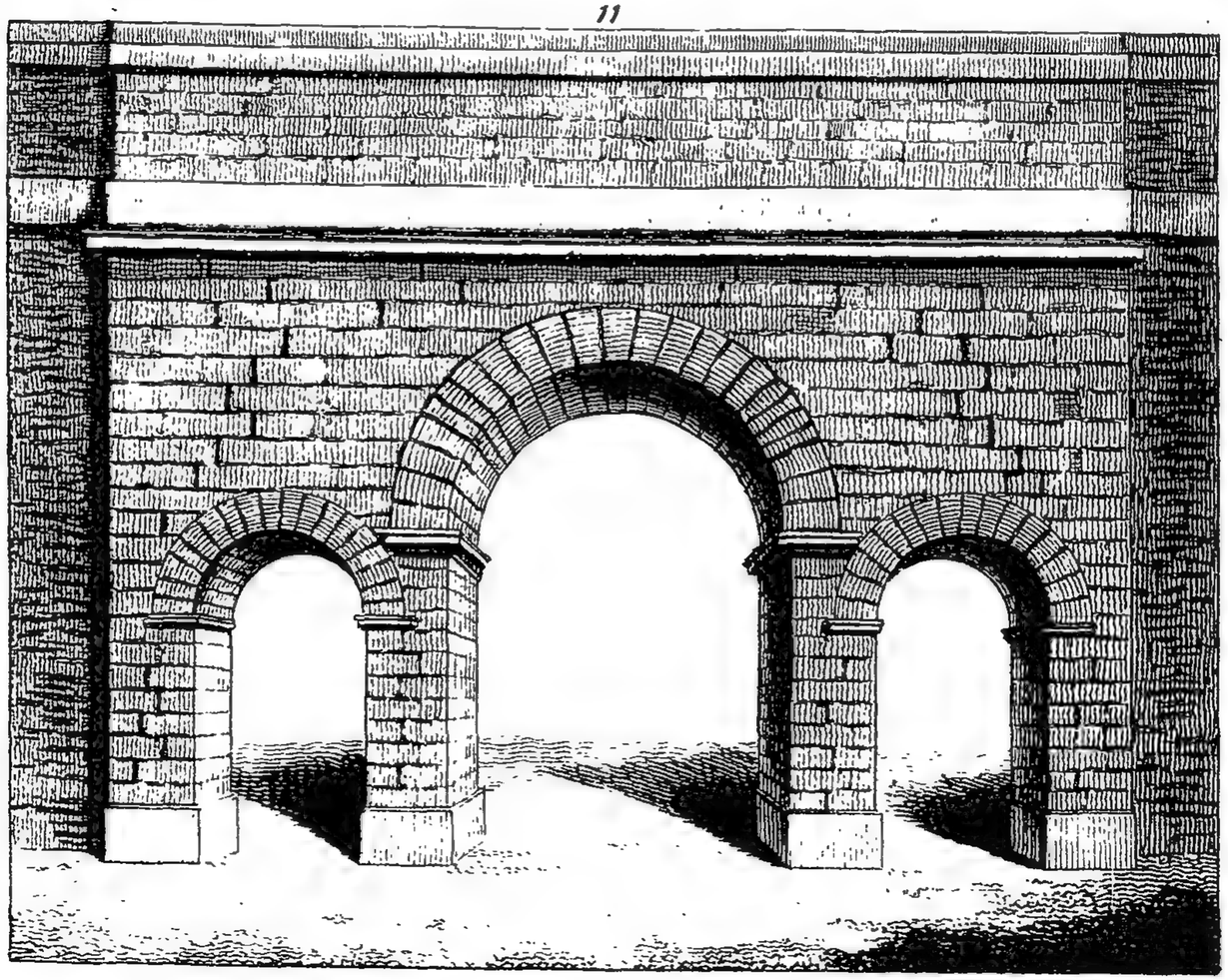
8



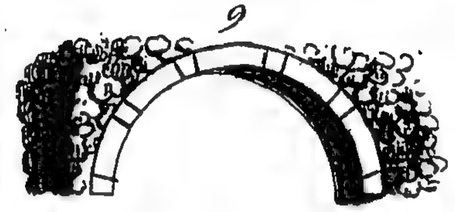
10



11



9



12



Vue Efficace del.

in a wedge-like form, but are thin, and of uncertain lengths and thickneſſes. Thoſe in the great arch are at a medium two thirds of the module in length, thoſe of the ſmall arches about half a module. The impoſts of the great arch were about one fifth of a module in height, and wrought with mouldings, part of which is now remaining, the upper member only being broken off [*l*]; from whence we may conclude, there were other mouldings about it when it was built, though now there are no remains of them. There are two fronts or arches to this gate, but only part of the front next the city is Roman; and that appears to have been almoſt ruined long before the parts above it and the outer front were erected, the ancient work being diſtinguiſhed from the modern by the remarkable length of the ſtones; and the whole ſeems to be built without mortar: But time has penetrated ſo far into the joints, that it is difficult to determine whether it was or not.

From the meaſures which I have given for the height of this arch it appears, that eleven feet at leaſt are buried under the preſent road, and that the ground in this part of the city has been raiſed ſo much ſince the gate was built. But this raiſing of the ground, though great, is not more here than in other parts of the city: for in the year 1739 the floor of a Roman Hypocauſtum was found oppoſite the weſt end of the cathedral, twelve feet at leaſt below the ſurface of the ground in that part, and near as much below the floor of the cathedral, by which it appears, that the ground in ſeveral parts of the city had been uniformly raiſed at leaſt ten feet before the cathedral was built; the floor of which was at firſt rather above the ſurface of the ground before it, though now it is conſiderably lower, which is the caſe of moſt of our ancient churches.

[*l*] As in Pl. III. fig. ii.

The Roman walls were generally built with cement and tiles or flat ſtones, laid in courſes at convenient diſtances to bind the parts together; and at the external and internal angles to ſtrengthen them. Theſe bands conſiſted of three or four courſes of tiles or ſtones laid through the wall, and were placed at two or three feet from each other; the intermediate ſpaces being raiſed with a ſort of cement compoſed of mortar and pebbles, and ſometimes of rag-ſtones, or ſuch materials as the country afforded. In this manner the walls of Verulam, Colcheſter, Cheſterford, and other places, were built; in all which theſe bands of tiles are found. Though we know of no Britiſh work in which any of theſe tiles or bricks have been uſed, it is no reaſon for believing that the Britons did not know how to make them before the Romans ſettled among them. Alberti ſays [*m*] (on the authority of Varro) that the Gauls built their houſes with baked bricks; which if true, it is probable the Britons might ſometimes build in the ſame manner: for as a correſpondence ſubſiſted between them, their manners and cuſtoms might be nearly the ſame as well as their religion. It is as probable that they ſometimes built their hovels with unbaked bricks made of clay and ſtraw tempered together and dryed in the ſun [*n*], in the ſame manner as they are uſed in ſome places at this time. But theſe unbaked bricks are very different from the unbaked bricks of the ancient Romans, ſuch being adapted to hotter climates than Britain, where they have more ſun to bake them, and (as Sir Henry Wotton obſerves) [*o*] more pa-

[*m*] L. iii. c. 6.

[*n*] Eſt autem in Hiſpania ulteriore Cälentum, & *in Gälliis Maſſilia*, in Aſia Pitane, ubi lateres cum ſunt ducti & arefacti, projecti natant in aqua. Vitr. lib. ii. cap. 3.

[*o*] Elements of architecture.

tience

dence to wait for them, as they were not fit for uſe unleſs they had been made four or five years [*p*].

If the Romans, or Britons after the departure of the Romans, uſed any of the unbaked bricks, it muſt have been in building hovels and in ſuch works as are common in theſe times: and it ſhould be obſerved, that neither Britons nor Romans employed the baked bricks when other materials could be procured. Even in thoſe places where neceſſity obliged them to uſe them, they did it ſparingly, either in making bands to ſtrengthen their walls, or in turning of arches, for which purpoſes proper materials could not always be procured, they being very often obliged to uſe ſmall pebbles or rag-ſtones for the greateſt part of their work. And this muſt ſometimes have happened to the Saxons and Normans, neither of whom made uſe of bricks when they could get ſtones fit for their purpoſe; but when the nature of their work required it, they made bricks to ſupply the place of ſtone. That the Saxons ſometimes built with bricks and cement after the Roman manner, and ſometimes with ſquared ſtones, may be collected from Bede's deſcription of the hermitage built by St. Cuthbert in his retirement, the walls of which he ſays were not of *ſquared ſtones, nor of tiles and cement* [*q*], but of ſuch rough materials as he could dig on the ſpot. In this deſcription Bede intended to ſhew the meanneſs of St. Cuthbert's habitation, by comparing it with other buildings of that age, many of which were built with ſquared ſtones and others with *tiles* and cement: from whence we may conclude, that the art of making tiles (or bricks as they are now called) was not forgotten from the time the Romans left Britain

[*p*] Vitr. l. ii. cap. 3.

[*q*] Non. ſecto lapide, vel latere & caemento (Bede Vita S. Cudberti, cap. 17.)

to

to the ſeventh century, when St. Cuthbert lived; and that we are not to imagine every building, in which tiles and cement are uſed after the Roman manner, was raiſed by the Romans; or that every building, which conſiſts entirely of the ſame ſort of tiles which they uſed, was built out of the ruins of Roman walls; though it may be ſaid that many of the buildings in which theſe ancient tiles are found, are ſituated in or near ſome Roman ſtation. This does not prove, that thoſe tiles were all collected from the ruins of Roman buildings; but rather that the builders, whether Saxon or Norman, were obliged, as the Romans had been before them, to make tiles, becauſe in thoſe places there were no other materials near at hand fit for their purpoſe.

THERE are at St. Albans two churches which were built entirely of the ſame ſort of tiles, as thoſe which had been in uſe in the time of the Romans; one is the church of St. Michael, built by the Saxons in the tenth century; the other is the abbey church, built by the Normans in the eleventh. That both theſe churches have many Roman tiles in their walls, is very probable, eſpecially that of St. Michael, which ſtanding near the walls of Verulam, the workmen had an opportunity of collecting moſt of the materials from thence. But that the whole was built with old tiles, may be doubted; there being ſeveral parts of the work, in which it was more convenient to make new, than to form the old into the ſhape and dimenſions they wanted, conſidering how difficult it was to cut them. When we conſider the dimenſions of the abbey church, the height and thickneſs of its walls, and the number of its pillars and arches, which were all built with theſe ſort of tiles, it is not eaſy to conceive that ſo many ſhould remain in the walls of Verulam, as were ſufficient to compleat ſo great a work, after the Saxons had

had ſupplied themſelves from thence with materials for building the abbey church in the time of Offa, and afterwards for the church of St. Michael, with other buildings they might have raiſed in the ſpace of three hundred years before the preſent church was erected; eſpecially when we find that in thoſe walls, they uſed tiles only for bands, which conſiſted of no more than three or four courſes at moſt, and thoſe were ſo well cemented by time and the goodneſs of the mortar, that few could be got out whole and fit for uſe. But in the preſent church, the nature of the ſeveral parts of the work, and the hardneſs of the Roman tiles, rendered it neceſſary to make tiles of different forms and dimenſions, for ſuch parts as required to be neat or exact; and for all ſuch parts, it appears on a near inſpection, the tiles were moſt of them moulded on purpoſe, particularly for the newels of the ſtairs and the ſmall round pillars, which were all made in circular moulds; and as they muſt have made theſe on purpoſe, without doubt they made others for the major part of their work, though they uſed old materials for the filling in or core of the walls.

The church of St. Botolph's priory in Colcheſter was erected about thirty years after that at St. Albans, and being entirely built with wall tiles except the Weſt door, is ſuppoſed from its ſituation to be built with the ruins of Roman buildings. But in this church the pillars being ſome ſquare, others round, required a greater degree of exactneſs in the ſhape of the tiles, than at St. Albans, where the great pillars are all ſquare. For theſe round pillars the tiles were evidently moulded on purpoſe, not only for the ſhafts, but the capitals. Beſides the round pillars which required a particular ſort of tiles, there are in the Weſt front of the church a row of ſmall ſquare pillars and interſecting arches, an ornament peculiar to Saxon and Norman buildings.

buildings. Theſe likewiſe are formed with tiles moulded for that purpoſe, and are very neat. In ſhort, the whole building is ſo well executed, and is ſo ſound a piece of work, that there can be no doubt of the builders being experienced workmen, and that the greateſt part of the materials were new, and but few of them collected from the old Roman walls. What has been ſaid of this church may be ſaid of the towers of other churches in Colcheſter, in which there appear to be many of theſe wall tiles.

THE caſtle at Colcheſter has not only many of the ſame ſort of tiles which are found in Roman walls, but they are laid in the ſame manner with bands; and yet, if the building is examined with attention, there may be traced in it the marks of Norman architecture, and it appears that many parts of the work are executed with tiles made on purpoſe, though many among them may have been gathered from old Roman walls.

FROM theſe examples it appears, that wall tiles or bricks were made and uſed by the Saxons and Normans in the ſame form and manner as by the Romans, and that the art of making them was not loſt after the latter left Britain, to the time of Henry the Second. But it may be obſerved, that they were not all made to a certain ſtandard, though they kept very nearly to that which the Romans introduced, which was *one Roman foot and a half in length, one foot broad, and two inches thick*, which is about one foot five inches $\frac{4}{10}$ by eleven inches $\frac{6}{10}$ Engliſh meaſure; but their dimenſions varied according to the nature of the earth they were made of, though the moulds they were made in were of the ſame meaſures.

IN the walls of Cheſterford ſome are 16 inches and $\frac{5}{10}$ long by 11 inches and $\frac{5}{10}$ broad, and 1 inch $\frac{3}{4}$ thick. Others taken out

out of the ſame walls are 17 inches long, by 11 inches and ¾ broad, and 1 inch and ¼ thick. In the walls of Colcheſter the mean meaſure is 16 inches and $\frac{5}{16}$ long, by eleven inches broad.

This difference in the dimenſions of the Roman tiles will be found very inconſiderable, when an allowance is made for the ſhrinking of the earth in burning, which muſt be more or leſs according to the temper of the earth they are made of; ſo likewiſe the colour and hardneſs of them will differ according as they are more or leſs burnt. But the Romans, as well as the Saxons and Normans, had tiles for various ſorts of work, which they made in moulds ſuited to their intended uſes. For the pillars which ſupported the floors of their hypocauſts they made ſome round, others ſquare, of eight or nine inches diameter (as at Lincoln), and for floors from twenty-two inches to twenty-three inches ſquare, theſe being made in moulds two Roman feet ſquare. They had likewiſe tiles for covering their houſes, &c. ſome of which were found in a Roman ſepulchre near York in 1768 [*r*]. With tiles of this ſort the ancient church of St. Peter at Rome was covered in the time of Theodore, as appears by his name imprinted upon them: and fragments of ſuch I have found in the walls of Colcheſter, which probably were built with the ruins of thoſe buildings which were deſtroyed by the Britons under the command of Boadicea; and as moſt of the Roman towns were walled after that time, tiles of various ſorts muſt be found in them, worked in with the other materials.

How long the Engliſh continued to make their wall tiles after the Roman manner is uncertain, though they began to

[*r*] See Archaeologia, vol. II. p. 177.

change the form of them between the time of Henry the First and Edward the Second; when the Flemiſh manner of making them was introduced, and has continued ever ſince with a ſmall variation in the ſize, but always keeping the ſame proportions. It is probable that the extenſive commerce carried on by the people of Flanders about that time, brought the Engliſh acquainted with their manner of making them, and the convenience of their form made them continue the uſe of them to the preſent time; however, the name of *bricks* was not univerſally adopted till after the time of Henry the Sixth, they being generally known at that time by the name of *wall tiles*. If we could depend on Mr. Whitaker's poſitive aſſertion [*s*], *the preſent appellation of brick is actually derived to us from our Britiſh Anceſtors.* They probably received it from the Belgic Gauls, who were the ancient inhabitants of Flanders, where bricks were in uſe in the time of the Romans; and at this time there may be ſeen, in their principal cities, buildings of various ſtiles and ages built of bricks: but, during the intercourſe between England and France, after the time of Edward the Third, they might have introduced the French word *Brique* [*t*].

WALL tiles, or bricks, were uſed in ſome of the buildings belonging to the priory of Ely in the time of Edward the Second, and were made in the Flemiſh manner, but of different ſizes, ſome being twelve inches long, ſix inches wide, and three inches thick; others ten inches or ten ½ inches long, five inches wide, and full two inches thick. They were uſed in building,

[*s*] Hiſtory of Mancheſter, p. 357.

[*t*] When the Flemiſh bricks were adopted, they introduced the Flemiſh manner of building with high gable-ends ariſing with ſteps, and finiſhed with ſomething like a chimney ornamented with bricks moulded in various forms, and ſometimes curiouſly put together.

walls

walls at King's Hall in Cambridge in Edward the Third's time, at which time they were ſold from 6 *s.* to 6 *s.* 1 *d.* the thouſand, which in thoſe days was a great price. In the twenty-third of Edward the Third, Edmund Gonvile, rector of Terrinton and Ruſhworth in Norfolk, began to build a college in Cambridge on the ground where the Tennis court and orchard of Corpus Chriſti college now ſtand, part of which is yet remaining, and is built entirely with bricks. They were uſed at King's Hall in the ſame univerſity in the time of Richard the Second, and ſold at 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the thouſand. In the reign of Henry the Fourth, they were ſold at 5 *s.* and 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; and in the reign of Henry the Fifth, at 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the thouſand. In the reign of Henry the Seventh, we find them mentioned in the accounts of King's college chapel, by the name of *wall tiles*, and they were uſed in the inſide of the walls in the upper parts of that building. About that time they became the faſhionable material for building, intermixed with ornaments of ſtone, and have continued in uſe ever ſince under the name of bricks.

The only remains of Britiſh maſonry in England is the temple of the Druids on Saliſbury plain; but in that we may obſerve the marks of the chiſel, and the traces of a geometrical deſign: and from thence we may conclude, that the Britons had more knowledge of building at the time it was erected than was neceſſary for erecting huts and hovels with boughs and turves. But at what time this temple was made is uncertain, though we may ſuppoſe it was long before the Romans viſited the iſland under the conduct of Caeſar, or before Rome itſelf had a being: and as we may conclude, that the Britons underſtood the art of building with ſtone in thoſe early ages, we may likewiſe ſuppoſe they were not ignorant of the art of making bricks; as it is probable both were introduced by the people who firſt diſcovered

vered and ſettled upon the iſland, though we know not the preciſe time when this ſettlement was made. But as theſe and many other uſeful arts were invented by the inhabitants of the old world, and uſed by the patriarchs ſoon after the deluge, they were never loſt by any of their deſcendants, except thoſe who, following the paſtoral life, lived in tents, and had neither cities nor towns to dwell in, but were perpetually ſhifting their habitations from place to place. Among theſe people, not only the art of making brick, but many arts which were uſeful to others, were neglected and loſt, becauſe they were of no uſe to them. But among thoſe people by whom the firſt kingdoms of the world were founded, all the arts which were uſeful to mankind were preſerved; and as thoſe people multiplied, and ſent forth new colonies, ſo thoſe arts were carried into different countries wherever they ſettled. If Britain then was an iſland before it was inhabited, which is very probable (though it might have joined with the continent before the deluge), the firſt inhabitants, whether driven by chance upon the coaſt, or invited by the diſtant proſpect from the oppoſite ſhore, muſt have come from a country where the art of naval architecture and navigation had been retained, and without doubt other uſeful and neceſſary arts, ſuch as agriculture, and the art of building with brick and ſtone. Theſe arts, being once introduced, could not eaſily be forgotten; for, as the inhabitants increaſed, more land muſt be cultivated, new habitations were wanted, and the old required frequent renewal: but being ſituated at the extremity of the world, and little known by the moſt civilized part of it, they long retained their ancient ſimplicity of manners, and made few improvements in their habitations; and until their country was invaded by the Romans, ſome traces of that religion which prevailed in the world:

world before the call of Abraham appeared among them, and the form of the patriarchal temples was till then retained, though it had long been diſuſed in the more civilized nations of the world, where the Greek and Roman architecture had been introduced. From hence we may ſuppoſe that the Britons had but little ſkill in maſonry before the Romans ſettled there, though they were not entirely ignorant of the uſe of brick and ſtone: but we are ignorant of the manner in which they uſed them; whether they cemented them with mortar, or bedded them in ſlime like the builders at Babel; it being impoſſible to diſtinguiſh their works (were they ſtill in being) from thoſe of ſucceeding ages, which, being ſtript of the ornaments of architecture, have no other marks whereby we can determine with certainty the time in which they were built.

THOUGH ſeveral ſorts of maſonry were introduced by the Romans and uſed by the Britons in Roman times, the art was almoſt loſt during the unhappy ſtate of the country after the departure of the former. Nor was it better underſtood by the Saxons at the time they were converted to Chriſtianity; as appears from the accounts of Bede, and other ancient writers, who ſeldom mention the building of a church or monaſtery, in thoſe times, but they ſay that foreigners were ſent for, to build them after the *Roman manner*; and if we examine the buildings erected in thoſe ages, independently of the ornaments of architecture which adorned them (which was likewiſe after the Roman manner), we ſhall find that the foreign maſons, who were introduced by the Saxons, uſed no other kinds of maſonry than thoſe which the ancient Romans had introduced before, who in their buildings generally followed the direction

of

of Vitruvius, or imitated ſuch as were in uſe at that time in other parts of the empire.

THE materials uſed by the Romans in building walls were ſuch as they could get with leaſt trouble near the places where they built. In ſome they uſed ragſtones, which in ſeveral parts of the country lay near the ſurface of the ground, and may be collected in large quantities with little trouble: in other places, where ſmall pebbles or flints were plenty [*u*], they uſed them with ligatures of flat ragſtones, or with tiles made of baked clay, when flat ſtones could not be found convenient for the purpoſe within a reaſonable diſtance of the work: but in thoſe places where ſtone was plenty, and of a proper ſize and quality, they uſed hewn ſtone for the facing of their walls, and filled the middle of them with ragſtones, flints or pebbles, or any other kind of rough ſtones they could find near at hand.

IT does not appear that the Romans uſed any ſtones of larger dimenſions than what may be found in many places near the ſurface of the earth. It is therefore probable that thoſe quarries, from whence the builders in after-ages were ſupplied with large ſtones, were not then diſcovered; on which account the workmen, who were brought hither when the Saxons were converted to Chriſtianity, were obliged to uſe ſtones of a moderate ſize, as the Britons had done before: and when the Normans became maſters of the country, and found no quarries from whence they could collect large ſtones fit for their buildings, they ſent into Normandy for what they wanted. Caen ſtone was preferred to all other, probably for the convenience of the maſons, who being Normans were more uſed to work in that ſtone than

[*u*] All ſmall ſtones uſed for this purpoſe, whether pebbles, flints, or ragſtones, come under the denomination of *cemehl*; and the workmen, who were employed in building walls with theſe materials, were called *cæmentarii*.

any

any other. But as Caen ſtone could not be conveyed to many parts of the kingdom without much difficulty and great expence, they were obliged in many places to uſe ſtones of a moderate ſize, until quarries were diſcovered which afforded others of greater dimenſions; and ſuch, the number of churches and other great works which were carrying on ſoon after the Conqueſt (in various parts of the kingdom), obliged them to open as near as poſſible to the places where they were building. But in thoſe parts of the country where no ſtone could be found, or brought from other places without very great expence, they made *wall tiles* for thoſe parts of their work where ſquared ſtones are uſually employed, and built the other parts of their walls with rags, pebbles, or flint ſtones, and ſometimes with ſmall rough clunch or fire-ſtones. But the Norman maſons ſeldom uſed theſe ſoft ſtones in building, except in the inner parts of their walls, or where it was leaſt expoſed to rain and froſt; and though this ſort of ſtone may be found in many places of large dimenſions, though it makes very neat work, and is wrought with little labour, it was ſeldom uſed till the time of Edward the Firſt, except in the filling of walls or in the *pendentifs* of vaults, where it was preferred on account of its lightneſs, and convenience of working: and whenever they uſed this or any other ſort of free-ſtone, they were careful to place it in their work in the ſame poſition it lay in the quarry, which made it leſs liable to be ſplit by the weight it had to ſupport, and leſs ſubject to be torn by froſts.

It is probable that the moſt ancient kind of maſonry uſed in England is that compoſed of cement and tiles, as uſed by the Romans in the walls of Verulam, Colcheſter, Cheſterford, and in other places. Theſe walls were generally built with ſmall rough ſtones, whether pebbles or rags, mixt with coarſe mortar,

mortar, and tiles laid at convenient diſtances to bind them together, and at the internal and external angles to ſtrengthen them. Theſe bands conſiſted of three or four courſes of tiles laid through the wall, and were placed at two or three feet above each other, the intermediate ſpaces being raiſed with cement [*w*].

THIS ſort of maſonry was much uſed by the Romans in the walls of their ſtations in ſeveral parts of England; but I do not recollect that it is mentioned by Vitruvius, and therefore ſuppoſe it was introduced after the time of Auguſtus. It is not however peculiar to this country; for the walls of Turin, the amphitheatre at Verona, and other ancient ſtructures, are built in this manner.

THOUGH the Romans often uſed it in Britain, it is uncertain whether it was uſed by the Britons after their departure, or by the Saxons before the Conqueſt. But it is probable the latter uſed it; for we find the Normans imitated it in the caſtle at Colcheſter, and probably in other places where it has been miſtaken for Roman work [*x*].

THE Romans ſeldom built the walls of cities entirely of bricks or with facings of bricks, and the inner parts filled with cement; but they frequently uſed that kind of maſonry in large buildings, ſuch as temples and theatres; many examples of which may be found in Italy and other parts of Europe.

THE Saxons uſed it in the ancient church of St. Michael at Verulam, and the Normans in the abbey church at St. Alban's, in the church of St. Botolph's priory in Colcheſter, and other

[*w*] See Pl. iii. Fig. 1.

[*x*] Dr. Stukeley ſays, the chapel in Colcheſter caſtle, and the Tower of London, were both built about the time of Conſtantine. Account of Stone-Henge, p. 8.

places

places where ſtone could not be eaſily procured. This ſort of maſonry, though compoſed of bricks and cement, is of that kind which Vitruvius calls *emplecton*, of which there are ſeveral ſorts; one is compoſed of flat rag ſtones laid like bricks in regular courſes on both ſides of the wall and bonded through it in ſeveral places, the intermediate ſpace being filled with a cement of pebbles or rough ſtones and mortar [*y*].

In this manner the thick walls of ſeveral Saxon and Norman buildings were raiſed: and in the Norman churches where large pillars are uſed the outer facings are generally compoſed of ſquared ſtones, laid in regular courſes, and the middle filled with cement [*z*]. Such were the pillars in the old cathedral of St. Paul in London, and thoſe of Ely, Peterborough, and many others of that age; and the outer walls of theſe churches are of the ſame ſort of maſonry, the middle of them being filled with cement between two faces of ſquared ſtones, or, an outſide facing of ſquared ſtones, and a facing of flat rough ſtones within. But where they built with pillars of ſmaller diameters they uſed ſquared ſtones, which made a regular bond through every courſe. This was uſed by the Romans, and called by Vitruvius *Inſertum* [*a*]. It was uſed alſo by the Saxon builders in round and octangular pillars in the conventual church at Ely, and in other places; and it is frequently found in buildings erected ſoon after the Conqueſt; and when arch buttreſſes were introduced, they generally conſtructed them with this ſort of maſonry, being the ſtrongeſt and moſt beautiful.

In thoſe places where flat rag ſtones could be procured in plenty, they built walls with them and mortar, laying them in ſuch a manner as to bind each other in regular courſes through the thickneſs of the wall. This made a very ſtrong and du-

[*y*] Fig. 2. [*z*] Fig. 3. [*a*] Fig. 4.

rable ſort of maſonry, though not very beautiful; and in walls of this ſort the angles are ſtrengthened, and the arches of doors and windows turned with ſquared ſtones. Vitruvius calls this ſort of maſonry *Pſeudiſodomum* [*b*], becauſe the courſes though regular were not all of the ſame thickneſs. This kind of work is very ancient, and was uſed by the Greeks and Romans, and we find it in buildings of all ages in England. The Saxons uſed it in the conventual church at Ely, and we meet with it in many churches built after the Conqueſt. It was uſed in the time of Henry the Sixth in his chapel in Cambridge, and in this we find all the joints are ſet with ſmall black flints.

IT is remarkable in all Saxon buildings, and in moſt of the Norman, that the walls, pillars, and arches, are compoſed of ſuch ſmall ſtones that the courſes ſeldom exceed ſeven or eight inches, and very often we find them leſs; notwithſtanding they could procure larger ſtones, though they ſeldom uſed them but for baſes or capitals to their pillars, or for ſome particular parts of their work where they thought large ſtones were neceſſary. And in this they followed the advice of Vitruvius, who for good reaſons directs in every manner of building to uſe ſmall ſtones rather than large [*c*].

PALLADIO takes notice of a kind of maſonry which he calls *Riempiuta* or coffer-work. The method which he ſuppoſes the ancients made uſe of to build theſe walls, was by placing two rows of planks edgeways as far diſtant from each other as the thickneſs they intended to make the walls, and then filling the ſpace between them with cement compoſed of all kinds of ſtones; and in this manner the work was continued from courſe to courſe until they had raiſed their wall to the height they intended. Vitruvius [*d*] recommends a ſimilar method for

[*b*] Fig. 5. [*c*] L. iv. c. 4. [*d*] L. vi. c. 10.

building

building piers in deep water with cement and *Pozzalana*, but takes no notice of any walls being built in that manner. I am therefore of opinion that the walls of *Sermion*, which Palladio mentions [*e*], were not built in the manner he ſuppoſes, being in reality of that ſort which Vitruvius calls *Emplecton* before mentioned, conſiſting of two thin walls, compoſed of flat ſtones or pebbles laid irregularly in ſtiff mortar, which being raiſed about a foot in height, the ſpace between them was filled with mortar and cement. Though Vitruvius mentions this as an ordinary method of building walls [*f*], we find many examples of it in England, not only of Roman work, but in Saxon and Norman buildings, eſpecially in thoſe places where flints or pebbles could be collected in large quantities, there being many large churches and lofty towers built entirely of pebbles or flint ſtones, excepting the jaumbs and arches of doors and windows, or ſuch parts as could not be executed without uſing ſquared ſtones.

To the ſeveral kinds of maſonry already mentioned, which were introduced by the Romans themſelves, or by thoſe foreigners who were brought hither to build after the *Roman manner*, we may add another, which Vitruvius calls *opus reticulatum*, which was much in faſhion for ſome time among the Romans [*g*], but afterwards diſuſed on account of its want of ſolidity. The beauty of this work aroſe from the form of the ſtones, which were perfectly ſquare, and from the diſpoſition of them, which was diagonal [*h*]; and the joints appearing like the meſhes of a net, it thence acquired its name. But the diſpoſition of the ſtones, for which it was chiefly admired, being contrary to nature and reaſon, ſoon diſcovered its want of

[*e*] L. i. c. 9. [*f*] Qua etiam noſtri ruſtici utuntur. Vit. l. ii. c. 8.
[*g*] Quo nunc omnes utuntur. Vit. l. ii. c. 8. [*h*] Fig. 6.

ſtrength. Therefore the Saxon and Norman maſons knowing its defects, never uſed it in a manner deſcribed by Vitruvius, though they frequently imitated it as an ornament in their *frontons*, and filling of arches [*i*]. Examples of which may be ſeen at Lincoln, Ely, Peterborough, Rocheſter, and other Norman buildings: but it was quite laid aſide before the time of Henry the Third.

THE Normans frequently raiſed large buildings with pebbles only, and ſometimes with pebbles intermixt with rag ſtones. Of theſe I have obſerved three ſorts, which differ but little from the common Roman work, and may be conſidered as a fancy of the builders, or the faſhion of the country or age in which they were uſed. The firſt is that of pebbles only, the outſide of the wall being laid in regular courſes with ſtones of nearly the ſame bigneſs, and the angles of the wall ſtrengthened with ſquared ſtones [*k*]. The next is with pebbles and rags, having the angles fortified with ſquared ſtones about two feet high, and ſix or ſeven inches ſquare, which were tied into the wall by flat ſquare ſtones about ſix or ſeven inches thick laid on the top of them [*l*]. In building theſe walls, they raiſed the outer ſhells to the height of one ſtone with pebbles only, or with rags on one ſide and pebbles on the other, and filled the middle with cement and mortar; and when the firſt courſe was dry enough to receive another upon it, they laid the ſquare bond-ſtones on the angles, and continued the thickneſs of the next courſe with flat rag-ſtones in the manner which Vitruvius calls *Pſeudiſodomum*. This ſeems to have been the prevailing mode of building in Cambridgeſhire in the time of William Rufus; for I find it in the church of St. Giles in Cambridge,

[*i*] Some of the walls of Rome built in this manner.
[*k*] Fig. 7. [*l*] Fig. 8.

which

which was built about the year 1092 by Hugolina wife to Picot Baron of Bourn in Cambridgeſhire, and in the tower of St. Benedict's church, which from the form of the arches and other particulars appears to be of the ſame age. In this tower not only the angles but the arches are found with long and ſhort ſtones alternately [*m*]; another example of which I have ſeen in the oldeſt part of the church of Ickleton near Cheſterford in the ſame county. The third ſort of maſonry compoſed of pebbles and rag-ſtones has two or three feet of pebbles or rags laid regularly, and above them ſeveral courſes of rag-ſtones laid angularly, or in manner of *herring-bone* as it is called by the workmen [*n*]. The age of this ſort of maſonry is not eaſily aſcertained. It may be ſeen in ſome part of the walls of the city of Lincoln; but when they were built is uncertain. There is a round tower of a church at Bungay in Suffolk built in this manner: and in Cambridge we find it in a part of the caſtle wall; which cannot be older than the time of Edward the Firſt, or Henry the Third. We often meet with an irregular ſort of walling, in which rags are ſometimes laid in this manner; and we frequently ſee the backs of very old chimnies in which tiles are ſo ranged: but theſe are common to all ages and places where irregular materials were uſed.

As this rough manner of building with rag-ſtones and other irregular materials required a coat of plaiſtering to make them fair without and neat within, we find that thoſe ſmall churches and other buildings which were built in this manner were always plaiſtered on the inſide, and frequently on the outſide, with a compoſition of lime and ſand, the remains of which may be traced in many of the Saxon and Norman churches, and in ſome more modern: and in thoſe which were built in the eleventh

[*m*] Fig. 9. [*n*] Fig. 10.

century

century with wall tiles after the Roman manner, the walls, pillars, and arches, were finiſhed within and without with the ſame kind of plaiſtering or ſtucco; as may be ſeen in the ancient parts of the abbey church of St. Albans.

FROM this ſketch of the different kinds of maſonry uſed in England ſince the time that the Romans firſt ſettled here, there appears little difference between thoſe which the Romans introduced, and thoſe which were uſed by the Saxon and Norman builders under the denomination of Roman work: and theſe were uſed afterwards with no other alterations than what were neceſſarily occaſioned by the changes which were made in the ſtyle of architecture at different periods, excepting ſome peculiarities which might have been the faſhion in ſome particular age or part of the country; for ſuch changes were ſometimes made either for uſe or ornament, and, being firſt introduced by maſters of note into ſome public building, they were ſoon imitated in others of leſs conſequence, whether they anſwered the intended purpoſes or not. Where ſmall churches were built in the neighbourhood of cathedrals or conventual churches at the time they were building, we generally find they agree in the ſtyle and manner of execution. An inſtance of this we have in the remains of a ſmall church at Denny abbey, about eight miles from Ely, which was built while the nave of that cathedral was building, in the time of Nigellus biſhop of that ſee, and has in it ſo much of the ſame ſtyle and manner of building, that we may conclude it was built under the direction of the ſame maſter, and in all probability by maſons ſent from thence: for it was uſual in thoſe days to ſend them in companies from one place to another to build churches or monaſteries, particularly in the time of the Saxons, when converts were daily making in diſtant parts of the country, and

many

many monaſteries were founded. It ſeems agreeable to this cuſtom that Naiton king of the Picts, when he wrote to Ceolfrid abbot of Girwy for inſtructions relative to ſome diſputes concerning the time of keeping Eaſter, deſired that he would ſend him ſome *architects* [o] to build a church of ſtone after the Roman manner. For in thoſe days the Roman manner was not univerſally underſtood, and perhaps the form of a Chriſtian church was ſo little known that none but eccleſiaſticks knew what conveniences were neceſſary for performing their religious ceremonies with decent ſolemnity; and as the monaſtery of Girwy had not been founded many years, it is probable their church had not been long finiſhed, and that there were ſome experienced architects among the monks of that houſe, who were capable of conducting the works which Naitan intended to put under their care. And as we may ſuppoſe the architects who were ſent on ſuch occaſions would naturally follow the manner of building which they had been accuſtomed to, as far as the nature of the materials they had to work upon would permit; ſo we may likewiſe preſume they would introduce any peculiarity, which they had been accuſtomed to, if they imagined it would add to the ſtrength or beauty of their work. From hence we may account for thoſe little particularities, which are often found in buildings of the ſame age, and may ſometimes aſſiſt us in aſcertaining their dates, though they do not conſtitute a different ſtyle of architecture, nor a diſtinct ſpecies of maſonry.

[o] Hiſt. Eccleſ. L. v. c. 21. By *architects*, he means perſons well ſkilled in the art of working in ſtone, or maſter maſons. By the Saxons they were called heah cræftigan ſtan geſeoncef.—and afterwards Free Maſons from the French *Franc Maçon*.

As

As the Roman ſtyle of architecture which was introduced in the time of the Saxons was uſed by the Normans with little variation, ſo no material change was made in the methods of building until the middle of the twelfth century, when many alterations were made in the ſtyle of architecture, and the baſes and capitals of the pillars, and very often the pillars themſelves, ſurrounded with ſmall ſhafts were made of marble highly poliſhed. Marble was uſed for theſe purpoſes until the latter end of Edward the Second's reign, though the other parts of their buildings were executed with common ſtones of moderate dimenſions, and laid in the ſame manner as in the preceding ages. But in the following reign we find that marble was much neglected (either on account of the great labour required in cutting and poliſhing it, or becauſe they found that the fine poliſh that was given it was not of long continuance); and before the end of Edward the Third's reign it was quite diſuſed. The marble uſed for the above-mentioned purpoſes was brought from quarries near Petworth in Suſſex, or from the iſle of Purbec. It is commonly of a greyiſh colour with a ſhade of green, and, being full of ſmall ſhells filled with ſpar, it appears when poliſhed ſpeckled with ſmall white ſpots. But it was long the popular opinion, that thoſe marbles which were ſo much uſed in the time of Henry the Third were factitious; that the ſmall ſlender ſhafts which ſurround the pillars in Weſtminſter abbey, in Saliſbury and other cathedrals built in that age, were made of paſte, compoſed of various materials which could be moulded into any ſhape, and by an art unknown to our modern artiſts could be made as hard as marble and ſmooth as glaſs. The ſame error has prevailed reſpecting Stonehenge: for it was ſuppoſed that the ancient Britons were maſters

of this ingenious art, and that the vaſt ſtones of which it is compoſed are not natural but artificial marbles.

THOUGH marble was much uſed in buildings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it does not appear by hiſtory or examples, that it was uſed before that time either by the Saxons or by the Britons in Roman times. Bede indeed mentions a coffin of white marble [*p*] with a cover to it, which the monks of Ely found near the walls of Grantaceſter in the year 695, which might be of Roman workmanſhip, but whether it was marble may be doubted; for Dr. Caius (in his Hiſtory of Cambridge) [*q*] ſays, when the tomb (or ſhrine in which it was incloſed) was taken down in the reign of Henry the Eighth, it was to be found made of common white ſtone, and not of white marble as Bede reports; and this agrees with the Saxon tranſlation of Bede, where it is called a ðruh oꝼ hpitum ꝼtane. But it is probable the Saxons uſed marble for this purpoſe and for fonts. If they uſed it in their churcheſ, it ſeems to have been in the flooring only, and that but ſeldom; for in common they made a ſort of figured tiles, with which moſt of their churches were paved: nor do I find any mention of marble being uſed in churches, until after the Conqueſt in the beginning of Henry the Firſt's reign, when the choir of Canterbury cathedral built by prior Conrad was paved with marble, and the walls which ſeparated the choir from the porticos were compoſed of marble ſlabs [*r*].

WE obſerve but few alterations in the methods of building with ſtone after the reign of Henry the Third, until the introduction

[*p*] Locellum de marmore albo pulcherrime factum. H. E. L. iv. c 19.

[*q*] Lib. i. p. 8.

[*r*] The pillars however were not marble: for Gervais ſpeaking of that and the preſent choir ſays, *Ibi columpna nulla marmorea, hic innum rae.*

troduction of Grecian architecture in the time of Henry the Seventh, except what the changes in Gothic architecture neceſſarily occaſioned. But, within that period, during the wars in France and Flanders in the reigns of Edward the Firſt and Second, wall tiles which before were made of uncertain dimenſions, were now made after the Flemiſh manner, and often uſed in building walls. The lower parts of theſe walls, about two feet above ground, were commonly made of rag-ſtones laid in the common manner; but the upper parts were faced with bricks on the outſide, and on the inſide with ſoft ſtone, clunch, or any materials the country afforded: others were faced on both ſides with half a brick thick, and the ſpace between filled with rough ſtones and mortar; but the art of uſing bricks was not well underſtood by the tilers of that age; nor the proper method of bonding them according to the Flemiſh manner univerſally obſerved for ſome years after their bricks were introduced; and we often ſee buildings erected in the reigns of Henry the Seventh and Eighth, where they were uſed in this irregular manner until they came into general uſe; when workmen began to uſe what they call the *Flemiſh-bond*, which is the ſtrongeſt as well as the oldeſt regular bond uſed in building.

About this time it was cuſtomary to chequer the fronts of brick and ſtone buildings with black flints, ſometimes in regular ſquare figures, and ſometimes intermixt with ſtone in imitation of open Gothic work. Many of theſe were neatly executed, and ſtill have a tolerable good effect; as may be ſeen in ſeveral fine towers of churches in various parts of the kingdom, particularly in Norfolk and Suffolk, where this faſhion greatly prevailed a little before the Reformation. About the year 1530 Hans Holbein built a beautiful gate oppoſite the banqueting houſe

houſe Whitehall in this manner, and ornamented the fronts with buſts in circular receſſes, with mouldings round them of baked clay in proper colours, and glazed in the manner of Delft ware.

The brick buildings of this age may be diſtinguiſhed, by being chequered with glazed bricks of a darker colour than the reſt of the fronts, which were generally built with bricks of a deep red, very hard and well burnt. The window frames were ſometimes of ſtone; but very often of bricks moulded on purpoſe, and covered with ſtrong plaiſter or ſtucco imitating ſtone. During the reigns of queen Mary and queen Elizabeth, the ornaments of Grecian architecture, which were introduced in the time of Henry the Seventh, were frequently imitated in burnt clay; and with them they laced the fronts of their houſes, and covered the ſhafts of their chimnies, in the ſame manner as thoſe which were executed in ſtone on Somerſet-houſe in the Strand. For this purpoſe a variety of fantaſtical figures were invented, in which the Grecian and Gothic ornaments were often abſurdly mixt together; and in this manner they were uſed till the time of James the Firſt, when they began to make plainer ſhafts to their chimnies, and thoſe moulded bricks were laid aſide: but in this and the preceding reign the buildings in general were badly executed, many of the walls being little better than rubbiſh between two thin ſhells of brick; and ſome of them were filled with ſmall rough ſtones mixt with clay inſtead of mortar, and others with turves or peat, ſuch as the common people uſe for fuel in thoſe places where wood and coals are ſcarce. In the reign of Charles the Firſt, when arts began to revive, brick buildings were tolerably well executed under the directions of Inigo Jones, though

many of his deſigns were executed in a manner which did no credit to that great maſter. But the late earl of Leiceſter has ſhewn in his fine ſeat at Holkham in Norfolk what beautiful buildings may be erected with bricks well made and judiciouſly diſpoſed.

FROM this view of the various kinds of maſonry uſed in England in different periods, it appears very difficult to determine the age of a building by the materials or method of uſing them, when no other circumſtances concur to aſſiſt us in our judgement; eſpecially in thoſe buildings which were erected with new materials either before or ſoon after the Conqueſt: but as we frequently find fragments of pillars, *vouſſoirs* of arches and other members of Gothic architecture worked into the walls of ancient buildings, we may ſometimes by their means aſcertain their age very nearly, but always with more certainty when we have ſome aſſiſtance from records or hiſtory. But to do this we muſt be well acquainted with the various modes of Gothic architecture which prevailed in different ages, and be able to diſtinguiſh the fragments of one mode from another. And as the progreſs of this kind of architecture may be traced from its origin through its various changes, and the time in which the ſeveral modes prevailed can be nearly aſcertained; we may ſometimes determine the age of a building very nearly by the fragments which are found in its walls. Among the ruins of churches and other buildings which occur in all parts of this kingdom we often find large fragments by which we may not only determine the age, but frequently aſcertain the form and ſize of the building they belonged to: for the Gothic, like the Grecian, architecture has its different orders or modes, and every order its peculiar members by which it may be

be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt; and as theſe are regulated by juſt proportions founded upon geometrical principles, as capable of demonſtration as thoſe of the Greek or Roman; we may judge of the whole from a part, with as much certainty as we may know the extent of a Roman temple from the length of a triglyph [s].

[s] Vit. L. i. c. 2.

VIII. Ob-

VIII. *Observations on* Kit's Cotty House, *in* Kent. *In a Letter to the Honourable* Daines Barrington, *from the Reverend Mr.* Pegge.

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Jan. 13, 1774.

Sir,

CONSIDERING that freedom of thinking on points of antiquity, and that liberty of debate, which your Society not only allows, but encourages in its members; no apology need be made for resuming the consideration of any subject of enquiry, or for dissenting from those who may have delivered their sentiments concerning it before. I flatter myself, therefore, that I shall neither give offence to the candour of the Society in general, nor to the liberal mind of your worthy treasurer, Mr. Colebrooke, in particular, if, with all deference and respect towards him, I should cause that rude and ancient Kentish monument, vulgarly called Kit's Cotty House, to pass again in review before you, and should happen to disagree with him, and others, in certain particulars concerning it.

British monuments in the county of Kent are but few in number [*a*]; the reason of which I take to be, first, that the

[*a*] Kit's Cotty House at Ailsford: the oval and circular rows of stones at Addington, first mentioned by Dr. Harris, but more fully described by Mr. Colebrooke, Archaeolog. II. p. 407. Perhaps Julaberr's grave at Chilham and a long gigantic barrow on the side of *Wye* down.

Britons

Britons in that tract of the iſland were found, on the arrival of Julius Caeſar, to be more civilized than the reſt [*b*]; and ſecondly, that the natives were afterwards ſo ſoon driven from thoſe parts into the other quarters of the country; Kent, as their landing place, being one of the firſt diſtricts poſſeſſed by the Romans.

HOWEVER this may be, the moſt remarkable of the Britiſh remains there is that rude ſtructure in the pariſh of Ailsford written by Mr. Lambarde *Citſcote houſe* [*c*], and now commonly *Kit's Cotty Houſe*. Of this monument we have ſeveral repreſentations engraved [*d*], as likewiſe many verbal deſcriptions [*e*]; ſome of theſe laſt, particularly that from the pen of Mr. Colebrooke, are ſo minute and exact, that nothing further in that way need be required. It appears to me to have been firſt notified to the public by Mr. Lambarde, the famous Kentiſh antiquary, in the ſecond edition of his Perambulation of Kent, *A. D.* 1596, p. 409; though Mr. Colebrooke, in his obſerva-

[*b*] "Ex his omnibus, longè ſunt *humaniſſimi, qui Cantium incolunt*; quae re-"gio eſt maritima omnis; neque multùm a Gallica differunt conſuetudine." Caeſar de B. G. v. § 10.

[*c*] Peramb. of Kent, p. 409. edit. 1596. Camden writes, *Keith-Coty-houſe*; Stow, *Cits Cotihouſe*; Philipot, *Kits-Cotehouſe*; and Harris, *Kits Cotty-Houſe*.

[*d*] The firſt, I preſume, is that very bad one by Philipot, Villare Cant. p. 49; a ſecond, and ſomething better, by Dr. Harris, Hiſt. of Kent, p. 371; then an Eaſt and Weſt front, by an anonymous author in Gent. Mag. 1763, p. 248; copied in the ſecond edition of Dr. William Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 224; and laſtly (not to mention the two unpubliſhed views by Dr. Stukeley, for which ſee Mr. Gough's Anecd. of Brit. Topogr. p. 229, and which will appear in the new volume of his Itinerary, publiſhing by ſubſcription), an accurate plate by Mr. Colebrooke, and a view by Mr. Groſe.

[*e*] Lambarde. Camden, Brit. col. 230. Stow, Chron. p. 52. edit. 1631. Philipot, p. 48. Harris, p. 31. Gent. Mag. l c. Dr. Borlaſe, and Mr. Colebrooke, p. 114. 116. The accounts given by the three laſt are by far the moſt minute and particular.

tions,

tions, making uſe only of the firſt edition of that work, printed in 1576, reaſons ſometimes from Mr. Lambarde's ſilence about it [*f*], and ſeems to think Mr. Camden, or Mr. Stow, was the firſt author that mentions it [*g*].

THE queſtion is, of what nature this ancient Britiſh monument may be, and for what purpoſe it was originally deſigned? Now, Sir, our older authors in general will tell you, it is the ſepulchral monument of prince Catigern, brother of king Vortimer, who was ſlain in battle here [*h*]; and ſo the matter ſtood, in the opinion of our Antiquaries, till Mr. Colebrooke aroſe and obſerved, and I think very juſtly, that little or nothing can be inferred from the ſimilitude of the names, *Catigern* and *Kits-Cotty-Houſe*, which the preceding gentlemen had chiefly grounded their notions upon: "I apprehend," ſays he, and one cannot but agree with him, "the name of *Kits* or *Keiths* Coty-"houſe to have been given to this place from ſome old ſhe-"pherd, who kept ſheep on this plain, and uſed to ſhelter him-"ſelf from the weather on one ſide or other of this monu-"ment; for, from whatever quarter a ſtorm came, he might "here find ſhelter [*i*]." And, thus diſcarding the received opinion, that Kit's Cotty Houſe was the funeral monument of prince Catigern, he inclines to think it rather the tomb of *Horſa*, Hengiſt's brother, killed at the ſame time with prince Catigern, and that this laſt was interred in a circle of ſtones at Addington about eight miles off [*k*]. The Britons, he con-

[*f*] Archaeol. II. p. 110. 114.

[*g*] *Ib.* p. 115.

[*h*] Lambarde, Camden, Stow, Philipot, Harris. Philipot pretends, p. 48, that another ſuch a monument was erected for *Horſa* at Horſted, in the pariſh of *Chatham*; but this is *gratis dictum*. See Mr. Colebrooke, p. 110.

[*i*] Archaeol. p. 114. See alſo Dr. Borlaſe, p. 224, where the vulgar name, *Kits Cotty-houſe*, is derived from *Koitten*, or *Goitten*, a quoit.

[*k*] Archaeol. p. 109. 113. 117.

jectures,

jectures, might retreat, after the battle, to thoſe ſtones erected in an oval form at Addington, as to a place of ſtrength [*l*]. But ſurely, whatever may become of the retreat, the oval could be no place of ſafety, fit for the vanquiſhed Britons to retire to.

As to the main point, the interment of prince Horſa at Kits-Cotty-houſe, this hypotheſis appears to me extremely doubtful; ſince, in the firſt place, there are not the leaſt footſteps, from etymology, or otherwiſe, to lead us to prince Horſa, except that vague and uncertain paſſage in Bede, "e quibus *Horſa* poſtea "occiſus in bello a Britonibus, hactenus in orientalibus Can-"tiae partibus monumentum habet ſuo nomine inſigne [*m*]:" which is equally as applicable to Addington as to Kits-Cotty-houſe, though the former happens to be on the Weſtern ſide of the Medway, Mr. Colebrooke himſelf having remarked, that the limits of E. and W. Kent were at that time different from what they are now taken to be [*n*]. I obſerve next, that, ſuppoſing Kits-Cotty-houſe to belong to Horſa, it inſtantly becomes a Saxon, inſtead of a Britiſh monument; which I think very material in the caſe, as the Saxons are not known to have uſed the cromlech, for their ſepulchral monuments, as the Britons and the Celtae did [*o*]. The ſafeſt way would therefore be, to call it a cromlech, or Britiſh tomb, as apparently it is [*p*], and to leave the name of the perſon there interred undecided, and not to aſſign it either to Catigern or Horſa; and

[*l*] Compare p. 113, with p. 117.

[*m*] Beda, p. 53. edit. Smith.

[*n*] Archaeologia, p. 117.

[*o*] Borlaſe, p. 225.

[*p*] Compare it with thoſe in Rowland's Mona Antiq. p. 92, ſeq. and in Borlaſe, p. 223. et ſeq.

indeed it is a point very problematical with me, whether this Britiſh piece of antiquity be not older than their time [*q*].

I HAVE hitherto called the cromlech Britiſh tombs, in compliance with the preſent received opinion; and in conſequence thereof I have admitted Kits-Cotty-houſe to be of a ſepulchral nature. But I hold it, nevertheleſs, very uncertain, whether thoſe piles are in fact funeral monuments. Dr. Borlaſe, indeed, has endeavoured to ſhew, by ſome plauſible arguments, that they are really ſuch [*r*]; but yet that hypotheſis is attended with ſome difficulties, as that the cromlechs are ſometimes found mounted upon barrows [*s*], which often have a Kiſt-vaen, or ſtone coffin, a ſtructure of a funeral nature, within them; which ſeems to make it very ſuperfluous to erect a cromlech, or another of the ſame kind, upon the top. It is true, the doctor infers from this very incident, that the cromlech muſt be ſepulchral [*t*]; but others, I imagine, will incline to conclude the contrary from it, and will think that for that reaſon they cannot be ſepulchral. 2dly, The cromlechs are alſo ſeen raiſed upon rocks [*u*], where a dead body could not be interred; whence the probability ſeems to be, that theſe piles were rather places of devotion than of interment, as the word *cromlech* evidently imports [*w*]; and ſo were placed only caſually, and not always or univerſally, over graves. This I find to be the opinion of Mr. Toland and others [*x*], and appears to be, at laſt, the very notion which Dr. Borlaſe himſelf had of them, when he ſays "That theſe places of burial be-

[*q*] See Borlaſe, p. 224, 225.
[*r*] Idem, p. 226. et ſeq.
[*s*] Idem, p. 223. 227, 228, 229. 232.
[*t*] Idem, p. 229.
[*u*] Idem, p. 223. 230.
[*w*] Idem, p. 225. Toland's works, p. 97.
[*x*] Idem, p. 225. Toland, p. 97.

"came

"came afterwards the ſcenes of the *Parentalia*, or where "*divine honours* were payed, and ſacrifices performed to the "manes of the dead, is very reaſonable to believe; but theſe "rites muſt have been tranſacted at ſome diſtance from the "cromlech, which (as I think has been ſhewn) could never "ſerve for ſacrifice [*y*]." And again, "The cromlech might "be, as it were, the ſacred *Kibla*, to mark the place of aſ-"ſembling, and to which they were to direct their devo-"tions [*z*]." Wherefore, if that were the caſe, and cromlechs are not funeral monuments, one has ſtill more reaſon for doubting, as was ſtated above, whether the cromlech called Kits-Cotty-houſe is the tomb either of Catigern or Horſa. The late Lord Barrington has ſhewn, that "altars were as often "memorials of God's having appeared to the patriarchs at the "place they were erected at, as for ſacrifices, and that there-"fore in Jacob's caſe they were called *pillars*; the deſign of "which, as is well known, is to perpetuate the memory of "the thing they are ſet up for [*a*]." Again, his lordſhip expreſsly ſays [*b*], "The altars or pillars that were built by "the Poſt-diluvian patriarchs *were not uſed for ſacrifice* (unleſs "in the extraordinary caſe of Abraham's offering the ram), "but to ſtrengthen their faith and hope, and the faith and "hope of after-times, when they *called on the name of the Lord*." Whence it ſhould ſeem, that all Dr. Borlaſe's reaſoning from the unfitneſs of the *cromlechs* to be altars, and that therefore they muſt of *neceſſity* be ſepulchral, is not ſo concluſive as he imagined. We are, however, highly obliged to Mr. Colebrooke for the careful perſonal view he has taken of this vene-

[*y*] Borlaſe, p. 229. [*z*] Idem, p. 230.
[*a*] Lord Barrington's Works, III. 177. ſecond edition. [*b*] P. 179.

rable remain, as alſo for his diſcoveries at Addington, and the ſatisfactory account he has given us of the unmeaning aſſemblage of ſtones at Horſted, reputed in that neighbourhood to be Horſa's monument.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

IX. *Ac-*

IX. *Account of a ſingular Diſcovery of a Quantity of Birds Bones buried in* Chriſt Church *Priory*, Hampſhire. *By* Guſtavus Brander, *Eſq. In a Letter to the Preſident.*

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Jan. 19, 1775.

Dear Sir,

HAVING lately made a purchaſe of the Site of the Priory of Chriſt Church Twynham, in Hampſhire, I was deſirous of obtaining the Ichnography of that venerable ruin; and, in order thereto, had the rubbiſh carefully removed from the foundations. Theſe being laid open, I have been enabled very clearly to trace out the plan and arrangement of the whole building, and to aſcertain, in a great meaſure, the appropriation of the ſeveral principal parts, how they were diſpoſed, and what their reſpective form and ſize; and among theſe, in particular, that of the Refectory. It is a room 36 feet long, by 20 wide. On the eaſt ſide was a door-way, leading into an interior apartment, which meaſured 20 feet by 18, with two Gothic windows in it to the ſouth. The walls here were at leaſt 5 feet thick, and in the eaſternmoſt of the two windows was fixed a large ſtone, of a pentagonal figure, excavated, and perforated in the centre. Its uſe, I ſuppoſe, was to hold water for

for ſacred or other purpoſes; and the hole, to draw it off, and diſcharge it occaſionally. This room I ſhould imagine was the Prior's private oratory. At the diſtance of 2 feet from the doorway, within the room, I obſerved a ſquare flat ſtone, 2 feet 9 inches long, by 2 feet wide, carefully cemented with lead into the adjoining pavement, having all the appearance of a gravestone. Curioſity alone tempted me to examine the contents, to ſee what might be the reaſon of ſuch ſingular caution in ſecuring them. You muſt conceive what was my ſurprize, when, on the opening, I found it to be only a repoſitory of birds bones, to the amount, at leaſt, of half a buſhel, and theſe of herons, bitterns, cocks and hens, many of which have long ſpurs, and moſtly well preſerved. The cavity was about 2 feet deep, and lined at the bottom and round the ſides with ſquare ſtones.

MY worthy friend Thomas Aſtle, Eſq. a member of the Society, was preſent at the diſcovery. We both joined in opinion, that the ſingularity of the interment might help to apologize to you and the Society for the want of any other merit in the communication.

I HAVE juſt to add, that the foundation of this Houſe ſeems to carry with it a very early date; for, according to Tanner, there was ſettled here, in Edward the Confeſſor's time, a dean and twenty-four ſecular canons, which were afterwards changed into regulars, of the order of St. Auguſtine. And I think it not improbable, from a conjecture which this interment has ſuggeſted, and ſeems to warrant, that it had ſtill a much earlier one, having originally been a Pagan Temple, and afterwards converted to Chriſtian uſes.

I am, &c.

X. *An Account of the Great Seal of* Ranulph *Earl of* Chester; *and of two ancient Inscriptions found in the Ruins of* St. Edmund Bury Abbey. *By* Edward King, *Esq. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr.* Norris, *Sec. A. S.*

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Jan. 26, 1775.

SIR,

John Street, Jan. 24, 1775.

BY the permission of Mr. Godbold of Bury in Suffolk, I am now enabled to lay before the Society some curious Antiquities, dug up from amongst the ruins of the ancient Abbey, at that place. These ruins being in the grounds belonging to the house wherein Mr. Godbold lives, he with great care, and much trouble, traced the foundations of the building, in such a manner, as to bring to light the true and original plan of that ancient structure, an account whereof I some time ago communicated to the Society [*a*]: and carrying on his researches still further, he found these remains of antiquity now to be described; two of which were taken out of the Crypt, or Undercroft; and the other from under the ancient floor, or pavement, of the Great Isle of the Church; and the latter, being the most curious, I shall endeavour to give some account of in the first place.

[*a*] Inserted in vol. III. p. 311.

IT

IT is an ancient ſeal made of lead [*b*]; and appears manifeſtly to have been the broad, or great ſeal of the famous Ranulph earl of Cheſter, who was one of the moſt powerful lords in England, in the time of king Stephen; and it is well preſerved; and has a ſort of handle to it, with an hole, whereby it might be faſtened to a ſtring, or ribband. It is ill deſigned; but tolerably well cut; and is a curious ſpecimen of the un-improved and barbarous ſtate of the arts, at that time: and it ſhews alſo very exactly, the odd kind of armour [*c*] then worn, and ſome other peculiarities in the military accoutrements of thoſe times, which deſerve notice; and particularly in the ſword, the ſaddle, and the ſpurs. The armour conſiſts merely of an helmet, not adorned with any creſt, but made like a mere ſcull-cap, of iron, and faſtened under the chin, without having any vizor for the face; and of a coat of mail, of thick quilted materials, having generally ſmall plates of iron incloſed therein; which coat came down to the knees, and was girt cloſe about the body. And in its hand, the figure has the great broad ſword, which is known to have been the moſt formidable of all weapons in ancient times, and to have required great ſtrength and ſkill to wield it; and continued long in the greateſt repute in this country. The enormous broad ſword of Edward III. ſtill preſerved in Weſtminſter Abbey, is well known; and the ſword of the Black Prince, on his tomb at Canterbury, though of leſſer dimenſions, is yet extremely large, and of the ſame kind. This weapon

[*b*] Mr. Worth ſhewed a caſt of it Jan. 21, 1773.

[*c*] Compare the ſeal of Louis le Jeune, king of France, contemporary with our Stephen, Montf. Mon. de la Mon. Fr. pl. 67. Earl William of Flanders' tomb. 1127, and the ſeal of Earl Philip 1164, 1179. in Vredii Sigilla Com. Flandriæ, pl. 9 and 11. R. G.


SIGILLVM
SECRETI
CONSILII

was uſed more eſpecially in the Northern parts; and continued to be the principal one, in the Highlands of Scotland, even till within the laſt century. The ſaddle has thoſe remarkable high pummels, both behind and before, which continued to be in uſe till after the time of Henry the Fifth [*d*]. But the vaſt large ſpurs, and exceeding long ſharp-pointed ſhoes, are the moſt ſingular parts of the whole equipment, and were certainly conſidered as being not a little formidable, and deſigned to be uſed occaſionally againſt an enemy in fight: and it is obſervable, that theſe alſo were continued (though not exactly in the ſame form) as a neceſſary part of armour, even till the time of Edward III; that is, after the introduction of the compleat cuiraſſe and whole ſuit of armour. In the very curious ſuit of the Black Prince, repreſented ſo exactly on his tomb at Canterbury [*e*], this circumſtance, as well as that of the broad-ſword, may be obſerved; and the ſpurs, and the reſt of the armour here deſcribed, may alſo be ſeen with little alteration on the broad ſeal of King John (of which Sir William Blackſtone has given ſo curious a repreſentation); only the circumſtance of the ſharp-pointed ſhoes has not been *there* attended to, though they are very plainly repreſented on the Seals of Henry III. and Edward I.

BUT another curious circumſtance to be obſerved in this ſeal, and which aſcertains its great antiquity, and ſhews it to have belonged, moſt probably, to the famous Ranulph (or Randolphe) fourth earl of Cheſter, who lived in the time of King

[*d*] What is ſhewn for Henry the Fifth's ſaddle in the chapel over his monument at Weſtminſter has the ſame. R. G.

[*e*] On the German ſeals, the *ſingle-pointed* ſpur obtained during the 13th and towards the cloſe of the 12th century. Heinecc. Syntagma de Sigillis, p. 203. & auctores ibi citati. R. G.

Stephen, is the form of the letters that compoſe the inſcription; for they differ leſs from the Roman, than thoſe on the Great Seal of King John; and therefore ſhew that this inſcription muſt, in all probability, have been prior to that reign [*f*]; and that this ſeal could not well have been of the time of Randolphe the ſixth earl, who was contemporary with King John and Henry III.

ON King John's Seal, the cut of the letters in general is by no means ſo purely Roman as in theſe; and the A, eſpecially, may be obſerved to be much more corrupted than in the preſent inſtance.

IT is well known, that the inſcriptions, about the time of the Conqueſt, were in ſuch letters as might very nearly be deemed Roman capitals altogether; and that thoſe letters continued to be uſed, with very little alteration, or corruption, till the time of King John; but that, in the very next reign [*g*], (that of Henry the Third), a great change in their form took place; and in the ſucceeding reign of Edward the Firſt, the Roman letters were almoſt quite gone, and laid aſide. It is therefore much more reaſonable to conclude this ſeal, now under examination, to have been prior to the time of King John, than ſubſequent to it. And as this circumſtance precludes us from ſuppoſing that it belonged to the ſixth Earl of

[*f*] The tomb ſtone of Gundreda, the wife of William de Warren earl of Surrey, who was daughter to William the Conqueror (which has lately been diſcovered), has an inſcription in letters greatly reſembling thoſe on the ſeal here deſcribed. She died at Caſtleacre in Norfolk 1085, and was buried at Lewes in Suſſex.

[*g*] The Roman letters changed on the ſeals of the earls of Flanders about the beginning of the 13th century. See Vredius pl. 15; in France about the middle of the 12th, under Louis le Jeune and Philip Auguſtus. See Montf. pl. 67. 69. R. G.

Cheſter;

Cheſter; ſo, that it could hardly have been the ſeal of Ranulph, the third Earl of Cheſter [*b*], the father of the famous Earl, may alſo be inferred, from its being left concealed at St. Edmunds Bury. For, as he died in peaceful times, and was buried at Cheſter, it would moſt probably have come directly into the hands of his ſon, and have been either kept ſafely by him, or deſtroyed, on his making another; inſtead of being left careleſsly in ſuch a very remote place as Bury was: whereas if it was indeed the ſeal of the fourth Earl (as I take it to have been), the troubles, amidſt which he ended his days, may perhaps well enough account for its having been lodged and concealed in this great monaſtery, as in a place of ſafety. And ſome peculiar circumſtances in the life of this famous Earl, which are very curious, may perhaps moreover lead us to gueſs, with a good deal of probability, at the immediate cauſe of its being depoſited in the very odd ſituation, in which it was found; and, at the ſame time, they will alſo ſerve to give us a more clear idea of the rude and barbarous manners of the age wherein this great man lived, and of the ſhocking want of principle, and diſregard even to the moſt ſolemn oaths, that then too much prevailed.

THIS celebrated Earl was nephew to Edwin Earl of Mercia, and married a daughter of the Earl of Glouceſter. Lord Lyttelton ſays of him, that among the Engliſh nobility none was more powerful, none of more conſequence to either of the parties. And how great the dignity and grandeur of his own

[*b*] There were in all ſeven Earls of Cheſter, from the time of the Conqueſt, to the Union of the County Palatine with the crown.

1 Hugh died 1103.
2 Richard died 1119.
3 Ranulph died 1129.
4 Ranulph died 1156.
5 Hugh died 1180.
6 Ranulph died 1232.
7 John died 1294.

family was, appears from the account given by Hollinſhed of the firſt Earl of Cheſter, who was nearly related to William the Conqueror, and whoſe ſtate was ſuch, that he appointed under himſelf ſeveral Barons; one of whom, Nigell baron of Halton, held his barony by this remarkable ſervice, *to lead the vauntguard of the Earl's army, when he ſhould make any journey into Wales, ſo as he ſhould be the foremoſt in marching into the enemy's country, and the laſt in coming back*; and the reſt of the barons (of whom Brooke in his catalogue of nobility reckons eight) were in like manner officers under him, and dependants upon him, according to the ſtricteſt rules of the feudal ſyſtem.

SUCH was the rank and greatneſs which this chieftain derived from his anceſtors: and in conſequence of ſuch formidable power, his aid and aſſiſtance was ſought for, both by Stephen, and by the empreſs Matilda; but, having received many favours from Stephen, he long avoided to engage with Matilda and the Earl of Glouceſter, notwithſtanding his intimate bond of alliance with them. At length, however, (provoked by Stephen's ſuddenly inveſting the caſtle of Lincoln, and endeavouring to ſeize it from his brother William de Raumara) the Earl of Cheſter, who was there at the very time of Stephen's attempt, and eſcaped out of the caſtle with great difficulty, went directly into Cheſhire, and raiſed all his vaſſals, and even drew to his banner ſome of the neighbouring Welſh; and having declared for the Earl of Glouceſter, and being joined by him, marched directly to the relief of Lincoln caſtle, and fought that memorable battle, in the year 1141, wherein king Stephen was taken priſoner. And the Earl of Cheſter's behaviour, in that action, was alſo the immediate cauſe of the king's being taken. For Stephen's phalanx remained invincible,

vincible, till the Earl of Cheſter, diſmounting, and ordering all his cavalry likewiſe to diſmount, broke in, by the weight and ſtrength of thoſe heavy-armed troops, and preſſed hard upon the king. Stephen bravely defended himſelf in the midſt of his enemies, and ſtruck the Earl a dreadful blow upon his helmet, and overthrew him to the ground, deprived of his ſenſes; but at laſt, the King's battle-axe being broken, he was obliged to ſurrender.

STEPHEN was ſoon ſet at liberty again, in exchange for the Earl of Glouceſter, who was alſo taken priſoner the ſame year. And afterwards, in 1145, the Earl of Cheſter was once more reconciled to him. For after he had juſt been diſcovering freſh marks of a greater animoſity againſt the King than ever; on the Earl of Glouceſter's meeting with ſome very bad ſucceſs which diſcouraged all his party, Ranulph, without heſitation, came as a ſuppliant to Stephen, and expreſſing great ſorrow for what he had done to offend him, obtained his pardon, and was received into favour, and then diſtinguiſhed himſelf by as great and uncommon zeal in the king's ſervice, as he had before ſhewn againſt him.

THIS reconciliation, however, did not continue any long time; for mean ſuſpicions, and jealouſies on the king's part, fomented by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to do ſo, at laſt induced him to ſuffer the Earl of Cheſter to be arreſted, and ignominiouſly thrown into a dungeon, and to be loaded with irons, which tranſaction happened during the holding of a great council at Northampton, in 1147; after which, in order to recover his liberty, the Earl yielded to ſeveral moſt unjuſt demands of the King, and gave hoſtages, and took an oath to the King, that he would not make war againſt him.

No

No ſooner, however, was he releaſed, than the very firſt act he did was to attack Stephen with great fury; either conſidering his oath as conſtrained and therefore void; or being (as Lord Lyttelton obſerves) hardened to perjury, by the mode of the times, and paying no regard to it [*i*]; neither was he ſtopped by any concern for the hoſtages he had given, whoſe lives were at ſtake. Several times he fought with the King; and defeated, and even wounded him in one action. And this oppoſition he continued for ſome time, with great fury; and when beaten himſelf, was ſtill unſubdued; his vaſſals being ſo numerous, his caſtles ſo ſtrong, and his power ſo diffuſed, that if he was driven away from one part of the kingdom, he preſently appeared with new force in another.

[*i*] Lord Lyttelton gives ſeveral proofs of the horrid perjuries of thoſe times; and mentions one moſt aſtoniſhing inſtance of premeditated perjury, committed avowedly, in the reign of Henry II. by the famous archbiſhop Becket, who ſeems not to have thought it a matter of any great reproach. This prelate, previous to his giving his aſſent to the conſtitutions of Clarendon, told the reſt of the biſhops then aſſembled, *It is my maſter's pleaſure that I ſhould forſwear myſelf, and at preſent I ſubmit to it, and do reſolve to incur a perjury, and repent afterwards as I may*; and accordingly he went to the King and barons aſſembled in parliament, and ſwore, *in the word of truth, that he would obſerve thoſe conſtitutions, in good faith and without deceit.* But he ſoon kept his word, in being guilty of perjury, and paying no regard to this oath. See Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II. vol. ii. p. 356. And the ſtrange evaſions that ſome great men have thought of to avoid the obligations of their oaths, in barbarous ages, are no leſs remarkable, than the perjuries themſelves. Henault tells us, that Robert king of France, who lived about 1026, in order to prevent his ſubjects from being perjured, on occaſion of taking a certain oath, cauſed them to ſwear on a ſhrine, out of which the relicks had been carefully taken. And the ſame author informs us, that (even ſo late as 1483) Lewis the Eleventh took care never to ſwear by *the croſs of St. Lo.* becauſe it was the general opinion of thoſe times, that thoſe who perjured themſelves, after ſwearing by *that croſs*, died within the year. Abrégé de l'Hiſtoire de France, vol. i. p. 142. 389.

THE

THE laſt act, however, of this unfortunate Earl ſhews ſtill more ſtrongly, both the ſpirit of the times, and his character. For having entered finally into ſtrong engagements with Henry II. in Scotland, yet, notwithſtanding theſe, and the bitter rancour of his heart againſt Stephen, he would not declare for Henry, in conſequence of them, till by a covenant, in the form of a charter, which is ſtill extant, Henry had granted to him the city and county of Stafford, Nottingham caſtle, Derby, and many great baronies, then actually in the poſſeſſion of other perſons; and of ſome of which the grants were *conditional*, if thoſe perſons would not join the party of Henry, or ſhould forfeit their poſſeſſions. Among the reſt was a grant of the lands of one William de Peverell, *unleſs the ſaid William could acquit himſelf of his wickedneſs and treaſon, by a fair trial in a court of juſtice.* And this laſt unlucky grant was the cauſe of the Earl of Cheſter's death, ſoon after, in 1153; for William de Peverell, unwilling, after this grant, to run the riſk of being acquitted in *the ſaid court of juſtice*, contrived to poiſon the Earl, before any trial was had. The charter abovementioned was ſigned and ſealed at the Devizes, in Wiltſhire; and is extant in Dugdale's Baronage, and Rymer's Foedera; and Dugdale informs us, that the Earl of Cheſter was buried near his father, in the chapter houſe of the abbey of St. Werburge at Cheſter.

To theſe anecdotes relating to the Earl of Cheſter, and his ſtrange conduct in life, it ought to be added, that the greatneſs of his adverſary King Stephen fell about the ſame time that he died; and that it received a fatal blow, by the death of prince Euſtace, Stephen's ſon; who, it is very remarkable, died juſt before the Earl of Cheſter, of a violent fever, which he caught in the very act of burning and ravaging the country *round St. Edmunds Bury*, out of reſentment againſt the monks of that monaſtery,

monaſtery, for refuſing him a ſupply of money and proviſions. And now, if we put all theſe circumſtances together; and conſider, that the animoſity ſubſiſting between prince Euſtace and the monks of Bury plainly ſhews them to have been moſt adverſe to Stephen, and of the Earl's party; and that the earl (whoſe power and poſſeſſions extended throughout the whole kingdom) can hardly be ſuppoſed not to have been connected with the monks of Bury, who took the ſame part as he generally did; and the ſide to which, it is plain, he always had the moſt cordial attachment; and if we ſtill further conſider, that monaſteries were, in thoſe barbarous times, eſteemed as the moſt ſacred places, and therefore the moſt ſecure; and that this monaſtery was one of the chief, and greateſt, in the whole kingdom; and that Robert, natural ſon of the firſt Earl of Cheſter had been abbot thereof ſeven years and depoſed 1102 [*k*]: it will, I think, appear very probable, that this broad ſeal was lodged there in the midſt of thoſe troubles, as in a place of ſecurity: and that, during ſome of the reverſes of fortune which the Earl of Cheſter met with, it was hid and concealed under the pavement of the great Iſle of the church, from whence it was never afterwards taken till now; being forgotten in the confuſion of thoſe times, after the Earl's death; and the perſon who hid it very probably dying without giving any account of it.

AND the place where this ſeal was found, renders this conjecture very probable: for it was dug up juſt under where the ſtones of the pavement muſt have been, and was placed ſo that there was not the leaſt appearance of its ever having been depoſited in any coffin, or near the place of interment of any corpſe whatever, or under any tomb.

[*k*] Earl Ranulph was ſon of the ſiſter of Hugh, who was father of the abbot of Bury, and died 1101. Dugdale's Baron. I. 34—37.

BESIDES

BESIDES this ſeal, Mr. Godbold diſcovered alſo two very curious fragments of inſcriptions; which are the two other antiquities that I now lay before the Society.

THE firſt of them is remarkable on account of the ſubſtance on which it is inſcribed, and the form of the letters. They are raiſed, in a very bold relief; and inſtead of being cut, or carved, were manifeſtly caſt, together with the whole maſs, in a kind of clay, and were afterwards burnt with it, in the ſame manner as tiles are.

FROM the form of the letters (they being ſo exactly like the Roman) I ſhould judge them to be of very great antiquity: for it is well remarked by Mr. Bentham, in his curious hiſtory of Ely Cathedral, that the purity of the Roman capitals began very early to be corrupted by the Saxon; and theſe letters very much reſemble thoſe of the famous inſcription, which he ſays muſt be older by 200 years than that of Peterborough, which is of the year 870. I do not mean, however, to infer that this fragment (though very ancient) is of any ſuch date: for I cannot but remark here, that although the Roman letters were ſo ſoon changed for the Saxon, in common uſe, yet they ſeem ſtill to have been preſerved on ſome certain occaſions, as a more venerable and ſolemn character, for a conſiderable time longer; and (as I obſerved before) appear on the broad ſeal of King John, as well as on that of the Earl of Cheſter, without much alteration. And it is moſt remarkable, that the only letters of a Saxon caſt on the ſeal of Ranulph are the Є and G: and the Є is alſo of a Saxon caſt, juſt in like manner, even in the Ely inſcription.

THE other fragment, which is larger, and remarkable on account of the perſon to whom it relates, is of a coarſe, ſoft ſtone;

and very probably a part of the tomb of the famous Poet Lidgate, or Lydgate, whoſe name is very legible on it. He was a monk of this monaſtery in the time of Henry VI. and wrote many learned books, both in Engliſh and Latin, in proſe and verſe; and was eſteemed a good mathematician and philoſopher, as well as an excellent poet. He died in 1440; and both Weever and Willis mention his being buried in this church: and therefore this inſcription, which was dug out of the crypt, and has his name upon it, may with great appearance of probability be ſuppoſed a part of his tomb; as we know of no other conſiderable perſon, to whom it could belong. Yet, if it was ſo, it ſhews that neither the epitaph given in Latin by Weever, nor the old Engliſh tranſlation of it, were the whole of the inſcription placed thereon, if they were any part of it: and indeed it is very probable that they never were either; as Weever ſeems to relate what he ſays about the epitaph with ſome doubt and heſitation, as to its having been really engraved on the tomb; and ſpeaks of that fact only on common report. Certain it is, that this inſcription cannot be made to agree with any part of the epitaph before mentioned, and on that account it deſerves ſome attention. But I cannot pretend to give any further explanation of it, and muſt leave it ſubject to ſuch conjectures as any one, on inſpection of the fragment, ſhall find reaſon to form; only, as it has certainly the name of Lydgate inſcribed, I thought it not quite unworthy to be laid before the ſociety.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

EDWARD KING.

P. S. The

[To face Page 130]



P. S. The two epitaphs I mentioned are,

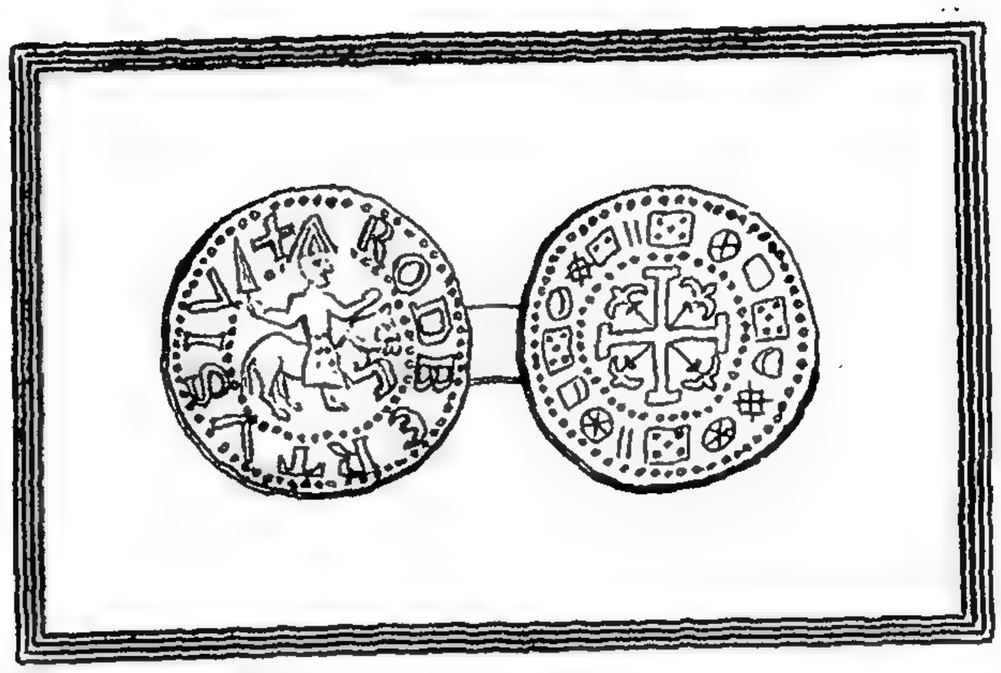
Firſt, in Latin:

Mortuus ſeclo, ſuperis ſuperſtes,
Hic jacet Lidgat tumulatus urna:
Qui fuit quondam celebris Britanne
Fama Poëſis.

Secondly, in old Engliſh:

Dead to the world, yet living in the ſky,
Intombed in this urn doth Lydgate lie:
In former times fam'd for his poetry
All over England.

XI. *Obſervations on a Coin of* Robert *Earl of* Glouceſter, *addreſſed to the Preſident. By Mr.* Colebrook.



Read at the Society of Antiquaries, March 9, 1775.

Rev. Sir,

AS the tables of Engliſh ſilver coins publiſhed by the Society contain little more than a bare deſcription of the ſeveral pieces, with their legends and devices on the reverſe; and as there are ſome in the firſt and ſecond plate which are truly hiſtorical; an elucidation of theſe from the hiſtorians who wrote of thoſe times, and lived in or near them (though thought too long for a note to have been inſerted at the bottom of the page), may be matter of entertainment to thoſe gentlemen who collect our Engliſh coins. I hope the following particulars will in ſome meaſure point out the occaſions on which theſe coins were ſtruck.

As to the coin of Rodbertus, given to the eldeſt ſon of the Conqueror, I always thought it was a miſtake, and told our late worthy director Dr. Ward my opinion long before the plates were publiſhed. Had it been coined by duke Robert, it muſt have been in the life-time of one of his brothers; and, as he thought them uſurpers of his right, he would have aſſerted it, and called himſelf *Rex*, and not *Dux*. As to the letters being miſplaced on this and many other coins, there was nothing more common than for the minters of that time to miſtake one letter for another; for on the coins of the Firſt and Second William it is ſometimes *Willemus*, ſometimes only *Willem*. In one of Henry the Firſt the E is left out; and it is HNRIC. So on Stephen's, it is *Stie*; on others, *Stef*. In this of Rodbertus had the *D* been put in its proper place, and the *T* left out, it would have been *Roberdus dux*; and Mr. Selden in his Titles of Honour obſerves, that the Saxon Eorl was ſometimes termed *comes*, and ſometimes *dux*.

As reading, and even the knowledge of one letter from another, was known to ſo very few at that time, what little literature there was being confined to monaſteries, it is no great wonder that the minters ſhould punch one letter on the die inſtead of another, or fill up the vacancy in the circle round the head with devices of their own, their buſineſs being to put a circle of ſome ſort round the head.

EVEN our kings and nobles were ſo little accuſtomed to writing or reading, that they only made the mark of a croſs (where they did not put their ſeals) to charters and deeds; and the writers (who were a particular ſet of people, and called writers of the court letter at that time) wrote each man's name oppoſite the mark or croſs that he made. In thoſe antient deeds,

concluding with *his teſtibus*, the names of the witneſſes are in the ſame hand-writing as the body of the deed. The manner of doing this may be ſeen in Dugdale's Monaſticon.

I HAVE been a little particular in relating the manner by which Roberd became earl of Glouceſter, as it ſhews the artifice of the lady to get a title for herſelf and her deſcendants, and alſo is a ſpecimen of the language ſpoken in the time of Henry the Firſt.

WHAT relates to the duke's penny, viz. Henry II. before he was adopted by Stephen, I have from Roger Hoveden, an hiſtorian who lived at that time, and, according to biſhop Nicolſon, was an author of veracity.

IN 1077 Robert eldeſt ſon of William the Conqueror, who was duke or regent of Normandy, took arms againſt his father, and won a battle, in which William would have been ſlain, had not Robert happened to diſcover him, and know him, and therefore ſubmitted himſelf to him, and was by him brought into England, and ſent with an army into Scotland; but, peace being ſoon concluded between the Engliſh and Scotch, Robert returned to Normandy.

IN 1087 William died, and by his will left Normandy to Robert; and Rufus took the crown of England. In 1088 Odo, biſhop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, endeavoured to raiſe a rebellion, to dethrone Rufus, and make Robert king; but he did not ſucceed; and I do not find that Robert came into England on that occaſion.

IN 1100 Rufus was killed in the New Foreſt; and, Robert being then in the Holy Land, Henry ſeized the crown.

IN 1101 Robert came into England; and a treaty was concluded between him and Henry; and, upon condition of an annual ſtipend to be paid him, Robert returned to Normandy: but,

but, whether he was unquiet there, or whether Henry's ambition made him deſirous to add Normandy to his other dominions, he made war againſt Robert, took him priſoner, and confined him in Cardiffe caſtle in Wales, where he lived twenty-ſix years, and died before Henry.

By the above account, it ſeems evident that Robert duke of Normandy had no opportunity of coining any money in England; neither was the ſtyle of this coin (if I may apply that expreſſion to money) in uſe at the time he lived, but much later. Robert died in 1133, two years before Henry, who died in 1135, and left the care of his daughter Matilda's right to the crown to his natural ſon Robert, whom upon a particular occaſion he had made earl of Glouceſter. The occaſion was this: Sir Robert le Fitz Haimon, a man of great poſſeſſions in Glouceſterſhire, left an only daughter, heireſs to all his fortune, who was called Mabile. Henry, deſirous to provide for his natural ſon, ſolicited this lady to marry him; but, ſhe refuſing to marry a huſband that had not two names, he created Robert earl of Glouceſter to him and his heirs: upon which ſhe married him; and by her poſſeſſions he became very conſiderable.

Mr. Selden, in his Titles of Honour, part II. p. 229, of the London edition, 1614, gives the converſation between the king and this lady touching this marriage, in monkiſh rhyme, and ſays the MS. he had it from was not publiſhed at that time; but it was from Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle publiſhed in 1724 by Thomas Hearne, the Oxford antiquary, and is as follows:

He ſede heo ſſolde hys ſone to hyre ſpouſe [1] anonge,
This mayde was ther agen and with ſyde yt longe,

[1] Soon.

The

The King of ſoght hyre ſuithe [2] ynon that attenende,
Mabile him anſwerede as gode mayde & [3] hende,
Sire heo ſyde wel y cot that youre herte up me ys,
More vor myne eritage than vor my [4] ſulue [5] ywis,
So vair eritage as ych abbe, yt were me gret ſame,
Vor to abbe an Loverd, bote he adde an tu name,
Sr Roberd le Fyts Haim mi fader was,
And that ne myghte [6] nogt be hys that of his [7] kunne nogt nas,
Therefore Syre vor Godes love, ne let me non mon owe,
Bote he abbe an tuo name [8] warthoru he be yknowe,
Damoyſele, quoth the king, thou ſeyeſt wel in thys cas;
Sr Robert le Fitz Haim thy fader's name was,
An as vair name he ſal abbe [9] gyf me hym may byſe,
Syre Roberd le Fytz Roy ys name ſal be,
Syre quoth this mayde tho that ys a vayr name,
As wo ſeyth all hys lyf and of grete fame,
Ac wat ſolde hys ſone [10] hote thanne, and other that of hym come;
So ne mygte hij hote [11] noght thereof nymeth gome.
The King underſtood that the mayde ne ſeyde non outrage,
And that Gloceſter was chef of hyre eritage,
Damaſile, he ſeyde tho, thy Loverd ſal abbe an name,
Vor him & vor hys eyrs, vayr without blame,
Vor Roberd Erl of Gloceſtre hys name ſal be and ys,
Vor he ſal be Erl of Gloceſtre and ys eyrs ywys.
Sire quoth the Mayde tho wel lyketh me thys,
In this fourme [12] ychole that al my thing be hys,
Thus was Erl of Gloceſtre vorſt ymade there,
Ac this Roberd of alle [13] thulke that lange byvore were

[2] very often [3] civil [4] ſelf [5] certainly [6] not
[7] kindred [8] by which he may be known [9] will take care to give him
[10] have [11] no name to be called by [12] I am willing [13] them

Thys

Thys was enlene Hundredger & in the ger ryght
After that our Lorde was in hys moder alyght.

ON Stephen's aſſuming the crown after the death of Henry (1135), the earl of Glouceſter was one of the firſt that ſwore fealty to him; but, whether he was refuſed any thing he aſked for, or thought himſelf not ſufficiently taken notice of by Stephen, he took arms in behalf of the empreſs Maud, who was Henry's daughter, and began that civil war which laſted for the greateſt part of Stephen's reign. Robert, by his poſſeſſions in right of his wife, had great power; and, being brother to Maud, was the propereſt perſon to be made her general. Stephen was taken priſoner in a battle fought at or near Lincoln, and was ſent to Briſtol caſtle, and there confined; ſo that Maud's competitor could give her no trouble at that time. When ſhe came to London, ſhe behaved with ſo much inſolence, that the Londoners would not let her be crowned. The ſovereign power at this time lay as it were dormant, Stephen being in priſon; and Maud, not crowned, could not properly exerciſe that act of ſovereignty, coinage, which is one of the firſt acts of regal power princes are fond of, becauſe it certainly tranſmits their name to the next generation, if not to poſterity in general; and I never heard or read of any money coined by Maud. There were at this time two armies in the kingdom, one headed by Robert, the other by Euſtace, both of which muſt be paid; and the currency of money at that time was ſo ſmall, that the prelates [*a*], earls, and barons, took upon them to coin their own money, according to Hoveden. This will rationally account for this coin having been ſtruck by Roberd earl of Gloceſter. The name

[*a*] N° 21, plate I. of the Society's tables, is a coin of Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, Stephen's brother; on which he is repreſented with the paſtoral ſtaff in his hand, the legend HENRICVS EPC.; on the reverſe are the arms of Wincheſter, with STEPHANVS REX.

Rodbertus on this penny ſeems to be owing to a miſtake in punching the letters on the die; the uſual way of ſpelling at that time being Roberdus and not Rodbertus, for ſo Hoveden and Robert of Glouceſter ſpell it. I therefore make no doubt but this penny was ſtruck by him, for I do not find any Robert duke of Normandy; and if it had been ſtruck in Scotland, the word Rex would have followed Robertus. It is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the minters made a part of the king's equipage when he travelled, for there was not money enough in the kingdom to make ſo many mints neceſſary as we find on our early coins; and the devices on the reverſe of this, and that of Euſtace, might equally ſuit any place they wanted to coin money at: the reverſe of this coin, and that of Euſtace, Plate ii. N° 1, are alike.

ROBERT was taken priſoner in a battle fought near Wincheſter, and was exchanged for Stephen; who, being at liberty in the year 1152, convened Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other biſhops at Wincheſter, and would have had them crown his ſon Euſtace; but they refuſed to do it, alledging, that the Pope had forbid them to acknowledge Euſtace, becauſe Stephen had ſeized the crown contrary to his oath to Henry, on which Stephen and Euſtace, being both angry, committed them all to priſon, and ſeized their eſtates; but ſoon after releaſed them, and reſtored their eſtates [*b*].

A REASON why Stephen was deſirous of having his ſon crowned, was, he hoped by this means to ſecure it to him, and diſappoint Henry, ſon of the empreſs Maud, and the Earl of Anjou, and was the firſt of the Plantagenets. He claimed the kingdom of England in right of his mother, and was come over with a great army, and had gained many caſtles, and ſtrong holds, and coined money, which was called the Duke's

[*b*] Scriptores poſt Bedam, Henry of Huntingdon, p. 227.

money

money [*c*], the legend HENRICVS REX, which he thought himſelf *de jure*; but Stephen being king *de facto*, he did not put the crown on this money, the ceremony of unction and coronation being (as I ſuppoſe) thought abſolutely neceſſary to conſtitute a king.

SOON after he came, he forbad the prelates and nobles coining any more money; the paſſage in Hoveden is, "Henricus Dux "Normanniae venit in Angliam cum magno exercitu, & red-"dita ei caſtella multa, & munitiones quamplures, & fecit mo-"netam novam, quam vocabant monetam ducis; & non tantum "ipſe, ſed omnes potentes, tam epiſcopi, quam comites & ba-"rones, ſuam faciebant monetam, ſed ex quo dux ille venit "plurimorum monetam caſſavit [*d*]."

IN 1153 [*e*] a truce was made between Stephen and Henry at Wallingford, which was followed by a treaty of peace concluded at Wincheſter, by which (Euſtace being dead) Stephen adopted Henry for his heir to the crown. This was afterward confirmed by a parliament held at Oxford on the feaſt of St. Hilary, viz. January the 20th, at which time the prelates and nobles ſwore fealty to Henry [*f*].

HENRY ſeems always to have had a regard to the currency of money; for in this treaty, by the eleventh article, it was agreed, that only one ſpecies of ſilver coin ſhould be current throughout the land, which moſt likely gave occaſion for that piece being ſtruck whereon Stephen and Henry are repreſented

[*c*] Society of Antiquaries Coins, pl. ii. N° 7. a young face, with long hair; over the head three fleurs-de-lis inſtead of a crown, a ſceptre in his right hand, and three annulets engrailed before the face. It is moſt likely that Henry brought a minter with him who ſtruck this coin, it being more elegant and in a better taſte than any of the preceding or ſubſequent reigns.

[*d*] Hoveden, p. 281.

[*e*] Speed, p. 481. Math.-Paris, p. 72. Polydore Virgil, p. 200.

[*f*] See this treaty in Hollinſhed, vol. iii. p. 61.

in armour holding a ſpear between them in token of peace, plate ii. N° 3, the legend of which is STIE ENER, moſt probably for Stephanus and Henricus. The reverſe of this has as rude devices as thoſe on the coins of Euſtace and Rodbert.

HENRY in his ſecond year made a new coinage, as Hoveden ſays, p. 282, "Novam fecit monetam, quae ſola recepta erat et "accepta in regno."

AGAIN, in the 26th year of his reign, he ſays, "Henricus "rex pater novam fecit monetam in Anglia, & monetarios re-"demit propter corruptionem veteris monetae." *Monetarios redemit* I tranſlate *hired new minters*, becauſe the old ones had debaſed the coin. I do not think this paſſage in Hoveden amounts to making indentures with the minters, there certainly being no fixed place for a mint at that time; for my late worthy friend Mr. Folkes, who made the moſt diligent enquiry into all the records which related to coinage, mentions none earlier than the 6th of Henry III. by which he ordered pennys, half-pennys, and farthings, to be coined, but doth not ſay it was by indenture with the moneyers.

THE firſt indenture he mentions to be made with the maſter or worker of the mint, is in the 27th year of Edward III. viz. 1356, which was the firſt year of his coining groats and half-groats. From that time indentures ſeem to have been made with the maſters of the mint, except in troubleſome times when the diſputes between the houſes of York and Lancaſter made two kings at the ſame time, as Richard II. Henry IV. Henry VI. and Edward IV. during which there could be no fixed place for mintage, but they carried their puncheons or hammers from one place to another. I have ſeen a coin of Edward IV. with a B on the breaſt for Briſtol, and the reverſe hath been CIVITAS LONDON.

I SHALL

I SHALL here take occaſion to mention a different reaſon for the ſameneſs of the head on all our coins from Edward I. to Henry VII. from what my much honoured friend Mr. Folkes aſſigns for it; viz. that the king ſhould always appear as in full vigour of life.

EDWARD the Firſt introduced on his pennies the face of a man, with curled hair; whereas his immediate predeceſſors Henry III. and John, had ſomewhat more like the moon at the full (as painted for a ſign to a country alehouſe) than any human being.

THE method of making the dies for money, is to make a likeneſs of the face and head in ſoft ſteel, in the manner of a Cameo, which when they had finiſhed, they hardened to the utmoſt degree the metal would bear. This, by the force of the hammer, made an intaglio on ſoft ſteel, in the centre of the die, and the letter or devices were punched in, and then the die was hardened ſufficiently to give the impreſſion on the ſilver to be coined, but was not made ſo hard as the Cameo. But as theſe dies were liable to be ſplit under the hammer, as ours are under the mill and ſcrew, the pains and expence of renewing the Cameo would have been endleſs; and therefore, having got an head for each ſpecies of money, they uſed the ſame through all theſe reigns, and only punched in a different legend, and made ſome little alteration in the treſſure round it.

IF you think theſe papers worthy the notice of the Society, you will pleaſe to communicate them; if too trifling, to ſuppreſs them; and believe me to be,

With great reſpect,

Your very humble ſervant,

Budge Row, Feb. 14, 1775.

JOSIAH COLEBROOK.

XII. *On*

XII. *On the Origin of the Word* Romance; *by the Rev. Mr.* Drake. *In a Letter to the Secretary.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Dec. 1, 1774.

SIR,

THE literary world is much indebted to the ingenious Mr. Warton for his valuable hiſtory of Engliſh poetry. It is indeed an acquiſition in that branch of learning ſo happily inſtructive as well as amuſing, that it muſt have its admirers, whilſt an elegance of taſte remains among us. However, with the utmoſt deference to ſo ſuperior a genius, I cannot help thinking, that, though that ſpecies of writing, called Romance, is the principal object of his book, he is very much miſtaken as to the origin of that *word*. He makes it wholly of French extraction, mentions it as ſuch in various parts of his work, and, in one place particularly, makes it ſynonymous with the French language. The communication of the Armoricans with the Cornith, ſays he, contributed to give a roughneſs to the Romance or French tongue. This opinion alſo he endeavours to illuſtrate, by introducing in a note this paſſage from his brother's Eſſay upon Pope. The Latin tongue ceaſed to be ſpoken in France about the ninth century, and was ſucceeded by what

what was called the Romance tongue, a mixture of Frankiſh and bad Latin. Hence the firſt poems in that language were called *Romans.* The ingenious editor of the Reliques of ancient Engliſh poetry had made the ſame quotation before him; and he alſo concludes, that the Romances of Chivalry were firſt compoſed in France, from whence, adds he, they had their name. Notwithſtanding ſuch reſpectable authorities, I think, it will not be difficult to prove, that this word *Romance* is not of French, but of Spaniſh original; which, if you will give me leave, Sir, I will endeavour to do.

THE Spaniſh language, in the early part of their hiſtory, was a mixture of Celtic, Egyptian, Phoenician, and Punic; for all theſe different people had frequent intercourſe with that country, and ſome of them long reſidence in it. The Romans were called into Spain ſoon after they attempted to carry their arms out of Italy about the year of the city 530; and from that time till their total expulſion by the Goths in the reign of Honorius, which is a period of eight hundred years, they were in ſome degree inhabitants of that kingdom. When we conſider the numerous armies, which were ſent over from Italy in the Punic, Sertorian, and civil wars, and reflect upon the infinite multitude of Roman citizens, the government of the province, or the purſuit of commerce, muſt neceſſarily introduce into Spain; we muſt ſuppoſe that the original language of the country muſt gradually wear away, and be at laſt totally abſorbed in the Roman. For it was an eſtabliſhed maxim with thoſe maſters of the world, to communicate their tongue to every people that had the misfortune to fall under their yoke. By theſe means the whole province were habituated to ſpeak the Latin as their mother tongue, except a few of the ancient inhabitants who retired into the wild and mountainous countries

where they and their dialect remain unmoleſted. It was at this interval that Spain produced ſome of our later claſſic authors: both the Senecas, Silius Italicus, Martial, Quinctilian, Lucan, Mela, and Columella, being the natives of this country, who ſeemed to have rivaled Rome itſelf in the purity and elegance of their diction. The Spaniſh language thus became totally Roman, nor did the irruptions of the Goths and Vandals affect it in any material manner; they ſomewhat corrupted it indeed, but it ſtill continued radically and eſſentially the ſame. It was in this ſituation, when the Moors from the coaſt of Barbary made their famous ſettlement in that kingdom, and erected ſo many principalities on the ſouthern part of the country. The Arabians carried with them their religion, language, and manners; and having little connection with the natives but what was of a hoſtile and military nature, they preſerved them for many centuries pure and uncorrupted. Upon this eſtabliſhment of the Moors in Spain, we now perceive two languages prevailing through that kingdom, the original Roman or Latin, and the Arabic introduced by theſe new inhabitants. Hence what was written or ſpoken in the firſt of thoſe tongues, was called Roman or Latin; and what was uttered or appeared in the latter, Mooriſh or Arabic.

HERE we have the certain origin of the word *Romans* made uſe of in its primary ſignification, as a contradiſtinction to the Arabic. And that this diſtinction between theſe two particular languages was retained in Spain at all periods, even down to the time of Cervantes, we have a remarkable paſſage in that author to confirm. When the Spaniſh captive is relating his ſtory, and to the company that was aſſembled about Don Quixote at the inn; he tells them, a Mooriſh lady falling in love with him, conveyed

conveyed to him a letter, which not underſtanding, as it was written in Arabic, he procured a renegado to interpret it to him; who tranſlated it verbatim into the Spaniſh language, and finiſhed his explanation in theſe words, " Todo lo que va " aqui en Romance ſin faltar letra, es lo que contiene eſte papel " Moriſco." " All that," ſays he, " which I have now tranſlated " to you into Spaniſh, without altering a ſingle letter, is that " which this Mooriſh paper contains." You may here obſerve, Sir, that the word in the original *Romance* is uſed as ſynonymous with the Spaniſh tongue, and in oppoſition to the *papel Moriſco*, the letter written in the Arabic one. In further confirmation of this point, we may appeal to the learned Jeſuit Mariana; who, in his excellent hiſtory of Spain, tells us, that the Caſtilian tongue was called Romance, and aſſigns this reaſon for it, becauſe it has ſo great an affinity with the Latin, even infinitely more than the Italian can boaſt of. " Lengua Caſtellana com- " pueſta en particular de la Latina corrupta, de que es argu- " mento el nombre que tiene, porque tambien ſe llama *Ro-* " *mance*." " The Caſtilian language is compoſed principally " of corrupted Latin, of which its name is an argument, for it " is called *Romance*." In another part of his hiſtory, the ſame author informs us from the authority of Strabo, that there were ſo many Roman colonies ſettled in Spain, that the natives, by the communication and intercourſe they had with them, intirely loſt the uſe of their own language, and adopted that of the Romans inſtead of it. Give me leave to give you the original words of the hiſtorian: " Por toda Eſpana ſe fundaron " muchas colonias de Romanos, con cuya communicacion y trato " los Naturales mudaron ſus coſtumbres antiguas y ſu Lengua " y la trocaron con La los Romanos, ſegun que Eſtrabon lo " teſtifica." Which may be thus tranſlated. " Through all " Spain were founded many colonies of Romans, by the com-

" munication of which the natives changed their ancient man-
" ners and language, and aſſumed thoſe of the Romans, as
" Strabo aſſures us [*a*]." De Thringi, an excellent French grammarian, who wrote in the laſt century, in his treatiſe upon the Spaniſh tongue, expreſſes himſelf much in the ſame manner:
" Voila la ſucceſſion des nations qui ont donné lieu à la langue
" des Eſpagnols, laquelle tient toujours neanmoins beaucoup
" plus de la Romaine que d'aucun autre—d'ou vient que par-
" my eux parler Roman veut dire parler la langue vulgare."
Upon this principle, the learned Aldrete intitles his curious performance, " Del origin y principio de la lengua Caſtelana o
" Romance." And indeed, if we attentively examine the Caſtilian language in its preſent ſituation, and have judgement ſufficient to ſeparate from it the Mooriſh words and expreſſions, which are very copiouſly ſcattered among it, ſome Gothic, a Punic one or two, with a few Galliciſms, we ſhall plainly diſtinguiſh, that the remains will be nothing more than a ſomewhat corrupted dialect of the Latin.

THE word, and the ſource it was drawn from, being thus eſtabliſhed, it will be eaſy, I apprehend, to account for its introduction into France; and how that people came to adopt it for that kind of writing, which they, as well as ourſelves, at this day call Romance. It is natural to ſuppoſe, that, as the Saracens came over enriched with various ſorts of learning, ſome ingenious men among them ſoon acquiring the language, where they immigrated, tranſlated their own authors into Spaniſh or Romance, particularly thoſe amuſing and fictitious compoſitions ſo peculiar to that people; which, being embelliſhed with all the pomp of diction, and luxuriancy of imagery,

[*a*] The paſſage in Strabo, which the hiſtorian alludes to, ſeems to be this—
Οἱ Γουρδιτανοὶ τελέως τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων μεταβέβληνται τρόπον, οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς ἀρχαίας ἔτι μεμνήμενοι. Λατῖνοι τε οἱ πλεῖστοι γεγόνασι.

made an early impreſſion upon the natives; who, though not capable of conceiving the abſtruſer branches of Arabian knowledge, eagerly caught up this, and univerſally received it. Theſe tranſlations in the Roman or Latin tongue, the Saracens ſoon carried over the Pyrenees; for, very ſhortly after their admiſſion into Spain, they became maſters of Languedoc, Guenne, and Poictou; and the French, meeting with performances ſo coincident with the livelineſs of their imagination, embraced them with avidity; and from reading them with delight, naturally grew deſirous of imitating them. Hence this mode of compoſition prevailed early and generally among them; and as the originals they copied after were the fictitious tales of the Arabians, tranſlated into the Roman language, they adopted the name *Romance* for their works of this ſort, and tranſmitted it to their poſterity.

AND that this method of writing called the *Romance* prevailed in Spain before it appeared in France, though Dr. Percy has aſſerted the contrary, ſeems pretty certain from ſome parts of Mr. Warton's own performance. One of the very firſt of the French Romances, which was Archbiſhop Turpin's hiſtory of Charlemagne and his twelve peers, that gentleman tells us, a very learned critic, to whom he ſeems to pay very great deference, ſuppoſes to be the work of a Spaniard, and, with the greateſt probability, ſubjoins the author. He further adds, that the ſame critic quotes an authentic manuſcript to prove, that that work was brought out of Spain into France before the cloſe of the twelfth century; and that the miraculous exploits performed in Spain by Charlemagne and Earl Roland, recorded in this Romantic hiſtory, were unknown among the French before that period. The ſuppoſition, concludes he, that this hiſtory was compiled in Spain, the centre of Oriental fabling in Europe, at once accounts for the nature and extravagance of its

fictions, and immediately points to their Arabian origin. In other places he informs us, that ſome critics have ſuppoſed, that Spain, having learned the art or faſhion of Romance-writing from their naturalized gueſts, the Arabians, communicated it at an early period to the reſt of Europe. If then Mr. Warton will acknowledge, that the earlieſt Romances extant were Spaniſh productions, that Spain was the centre of oriental fiction in Europe, and that Romance-writing, acquired from the Saracens, was communicated at an early period by the Spaniards to the reſt of Europe; where muſt we look for this word *Romance*, but in the country where I have placed it? To this let me add, that the learned Dr. Hurd very judiciouſly aſſigns an Arabian origin to that ſpirit of Romantic chivalry, with which the Spaniards above all the Europeans were infected. This fanaticiſm, ſays that gentleman, was eſpecially inſtigated and kept alive by the neighbourhood of their infidel invaders, the Arabians.

THESE, Sir, are my ſentiments upon a ſubject which perhaps may appear trivial and unintereſting; yet, if tracing words up to their primitive ſource may ſeem to require the attention of the antiquary, I may probably be excuſed for giving the Society this trouble; but, above all things, I muſt beg of you, not to look upon theſe few imperfect ſtrictures as any attempt to derogate from the juſtly eſtabliſhed merits of Mr. Warton, whoſe character I venerate, and whoſe learning and truly elegant taſte I admire.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient

humble ſervant,

W. DRAKE.

Folkeſtone, Nov. 25, 1774.

XIII. *Some*

XIII. *Some Obſervations on* Lincoln *Cathedral. By Mr.* James Eſſex.

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, March 16, 1775.

IF the principles of Gothic architecture are now but little known, the various ſtyles of building, which come under the denomination of Gothic, are pretty well aſcertained; and as the firſt, if well underſtood and properly applied, would be uſeful to modern profeſſors of architecture; ſo the latter may be uſefully applied, by the lovers of antiquities, to illuſtrate or correct the different hiſtorical accounts which antient writers have left us of many elegant ſtructures which once adorned this kingdom, ſome of which yet remain, to perpetuate the piety of their founders, and the magnificence of the ages in which they were built; and, notwithſtanding the ravages of time, or the depredations of rebellion and fanatic rage, ſtill convey to the curious inſpector a juſt idea of the merits and abilities of that ingenious fraternity who have been long diſtinguiſhed by the name of Free-Maſons.

Of all the ancient fabrics now remaining, no one deſerves the attention of a curious enquirer more than the Cathedral of Lincoln; a building juſtly eſteemed, as one of the moſt extenſive and moſt regular of its kind in England, notwithſtanding it was erected at different periods, and has undergone various alterations ſince the firſt foundation. But as the times, in which

the

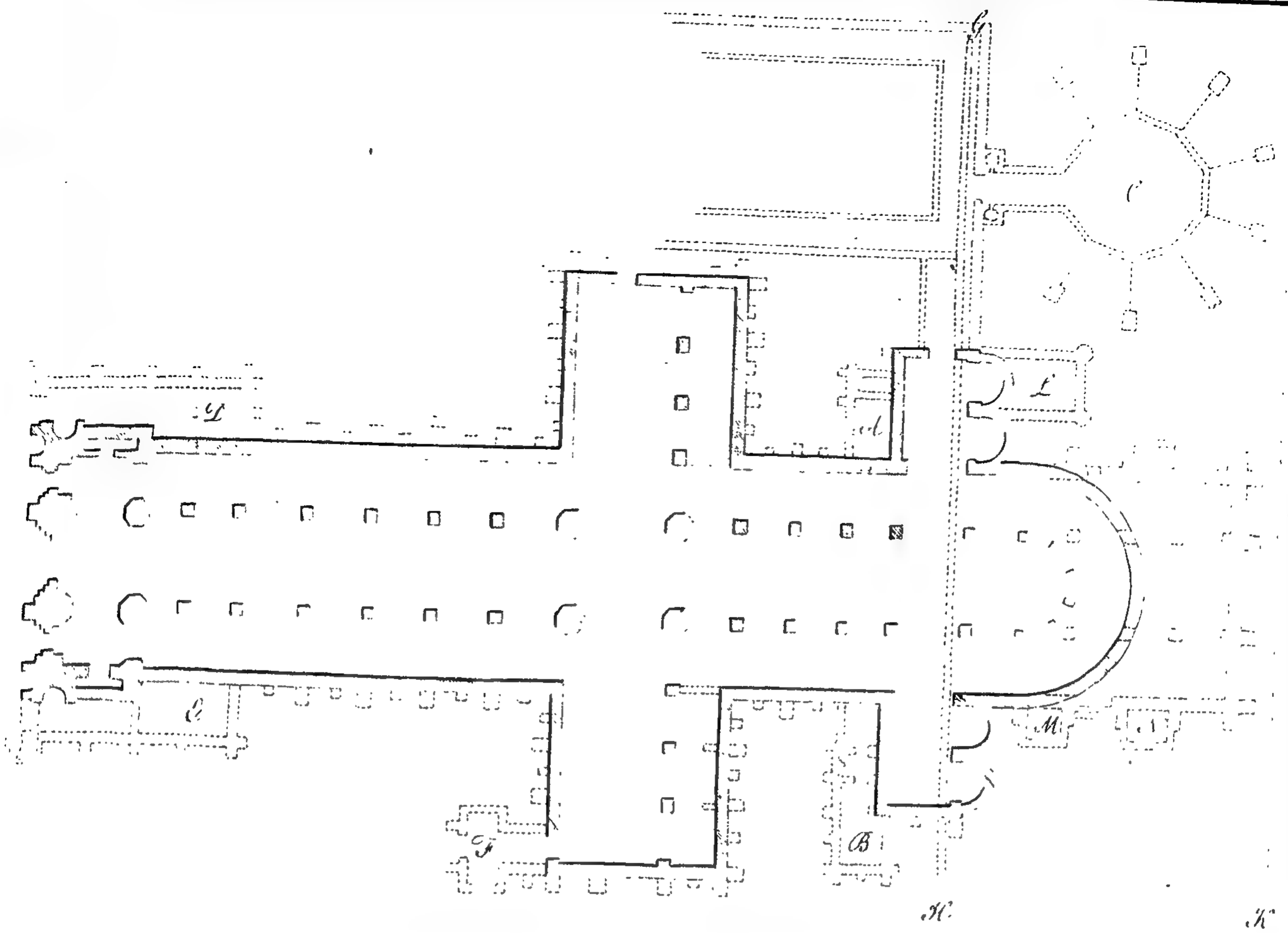
the particular parts were built, are not well determined, I have endeavoured to trace them, by comparing the hiſtorical accounts with the fabric itſelf; and from various opportunities I have had of examining the ſeveral parts of the church, and comparing them with the plans in Sir William Dugdale's and Mr. Willis's hiſtories, I have been able to delineate one which will give a perfect idea of the original form and extent of this Cathedral, and explain the ſeveral alterations and additions that have been made to it at different times. I have likewiſe made a ſmall ſketch of the weſt front diveſted of the parts which have been added, and have reſtored thoſe which have been altered; which will give a tolerable idea of that front as it was left by the firſt builders. The plan of the firſt church is repreſented as perfect, the alterations and additions are expreſt by dotted lines, and the ſeveral parts are marked by letters which will be referred to in tracing the order in which they were made.

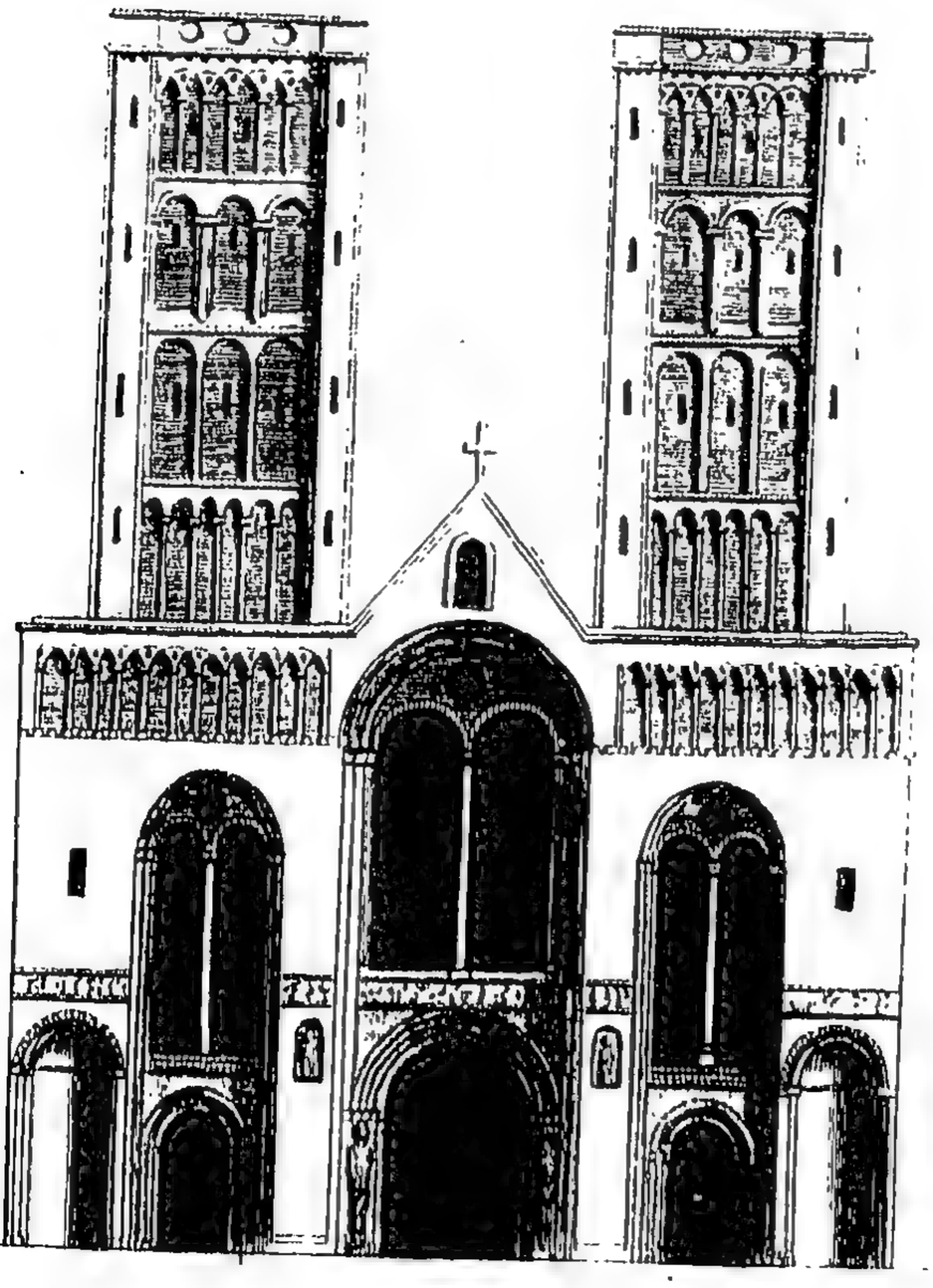
Remigius, the laſt biſhop of Dorcheſter, and firſt of Lincoln, laid the foundations of his Cathedral in the year of our Lord 1088, the ſecond of William Rufus; and it is probable, he, being a Norman, employed Norman maſons to ſuperintend the building: he covered-in the eaſtern part of it, though he could not compleat the whole before his death, which happened in the year 1092, four years after he had laid the foundations, and was buried in the upper north tranſept.

Robert Bloet, Chancellor to William Rufus, ſucceeded Remigius in the year 1092. He finiſhed the church, and dedicated it to the Bleſſed Virgin Mary. He was biſhop of this ſee thirty-one years, died in the year 1123, and was buried in the upper tranſept near his predeceſſor.

In the annexed plate is the plan of the church, which Remigius began, and Bloet finiſhed. It was built in the form

of


G
A
L
C
M
B
F
E
K
K



of a double croſs, according to the faſhion of thoſe times. At the weſt end there were two towers, and another upon the interſection of the nave and great tranſept; the firſt are yet remaining, the other was taken down when the preſent rood tower was built. In the weſt front there were three gates which opened into the nave and ſide ailes, over which there were three large windows, which gave light to the nave and ailes. Between the weſt end and the great tranſept, there were eight arches on each ſide, ſupported by piers or pillars; above the arches, which were ſemicircular, was a tier of windows, with the ſame ſort of arches; within the thickneſs of the wall, above the arches, was a paſſage for a way to the windows round the church, and a communication between the rood tower and thoſe at the weſt end; on the eaſt ſide of the great tranſept, there was a portico of ſix arches, three in the north and three in the ſouth arm, deſigned for chapels: between the great tranſept and the upper tranſept there were four arches on each ſide, the width of the upper tranſept included a fifth, and beyond that was another, from the eaſtern pillar of which the tribune ran in ſemicircle, with the ailes which were continued round the eaſt end. In the upper tranſept, there were four ſemicircular chapels, two in the North, and two in the South.

THE Weſt front and two towers of the old church are ſtill remaining, and include one arch on each ſide of the preſent church. The Weſt doors are highly ornamented and well executed for that time; the arches are all ſemicircular, and there ſeem to have been ſtatues on each ſide the principal gate. On the outer piers there are two very large niches, with two more on the North and South; theſe probably were intended for ſtatues. On the piers between the arches, there are two ſmall receſſes with figures in them. Above theſe

was

was a kind of broad faſcia or band carved in *ſemi relievo*, repreſenting ſeveral paſſages of ſcripture from the Old Teſtament. The difference of the workmanſhip, and the irregularity in which they are placed, make it probable they were brought from ſome old church, and placed in this front when it was firſt built. This front was finiſhed with a range of ſmall pillars and ſemicircular interſecting arches, and with a triangular *fronton* raiſed over the center arch. Above theſe the towers were raiſed four ſtories higher; and every ſtory ornamented with pillars and arches. From theſe remains of Remigius's church, it appears to have been a large and elegant building; but it does not appear that any part of it was vaulted, though at the time it was built it was cuſtomary to vault the ſide ailes and tribunes with ſtone, and ceile the nave with wood painted, as it is in the cathedral of Peterborough, and was in the church of Canterbury before the fire in 1174. In this ſtate Remigius's church ſtood but a few years; for in the year 1124, ſoon after the death of biſhop Bloet, it was burnt down (according to Mr. Willis's account of the Hiſtory of Lincoln Cathedral, p. 49.), and "rebuilt by biſhop Alexander, his ſucceſſor, with "an arched roof for the prevention of the like accident; and he "gave himſelf ſo much to the adorning of his cathedral, that "he made it the moſt beautiful church in England at that "time:" but, notwithſtanding biſhop Alexander had made it the moſt elegant church in England, we find (in the ſame author, p. 49.) "that St. *Hugh Burgundus* enlarged it, by building what is called the *New Work*. He alſo built the *Chapter-houſe* with marble pillars, and laid out a great deal on his "palaces." After reading this account by Mr. Willis, it is natural to conclude, that the choir and upper tranſept, which are the oldeſt parts of the church, except the weſt end, were built by

by biſhop Alexander, and that St. Hugh enlarged it by adding the five arches from thence to the eaſt end; but, when we conſider that Alexander lived in the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen, and find nothing in the choir or tranſept agreeable to the ſtyle of building uſed in thoſe times, and that the city wall which ſtood near the end of the church was not removed until fifty-ſix years after the death of St. Hugh, we muſt ſuſpect ſome miſtake in the account; and, from what may be collected from the building itſelf, the true ſtate of the affair ſeems to be as follows.

'REMIGIUS's church was damaged by a fire which happened the year after biſhop Alexander was conſecrated; but it was not burnt down. This misfortune might be attributed to its not being vaulted; and, to prevent the like accident, he vaulted it with ſtone when he repaired it. Yet we muſt not ſuppoſe he vaulted it with ſtone throughout; for it was uſual at that time to vault the ailes only, leaving the roof over the nave naked or ceiled with wood. The vaulting of the ailes only was certainly an improvement to the church; and, if it did not make it *the moſt beautiful in England*, it was, as the ancient hiſtorian obſerves, *pulchrior quam in ipſa novitate ſui compareret*. But, if Alexander improved the beauty of his church, he impaired the ſtrength of it at the ſame time; for the walls, which were made to bear a roof of timber, would give way to the preſſure of a vault: and although the builders might add pillars againſt them, and to the piers of the nave, which would ſupport the ſpringers, the walls themſelves muſt be too weak, without the aſſiſtance of external buttreſſes, to ſupport the lateral preſſure of the heavy vaults then in uſe. Theſe defects in Alexander's work muſt appear in leſs than 30 or 40 years, and probably were ſo much worſe when St. Hugh became biſhop, as to determine that

prelate to rebuild it in the new manner (which was introduced about that time) with vaults over the nave as well as ſide ailes; but, as the ground would not admit of any addition eaſtward, he pulled down the choir and upper tranſept, and began his new church upon the foundations of the old one, adding the buildings A and B to the weſt ſide of the tranſept. When this work was finiſhed, he began the Chapter-houſe C on the north ſide of the church; the plan is a decagon; the vault is ſupported within by a ſingle pillar, and on the outſide by arch-buttreſſes extending very near the wall of the city. The ſtyle of this building agrees with the time of Henry II. and is of the ſame age as the choir and upper tranſept; which confirms the common opinion that St. Hugh built it.

The next great work was to rebuild the remaining part of the old church as far as the weſt towers, including the great tranſept and rood tower. The ſtyle of this building agrees with the time of king John, and beginning of Henry III.; from whence I conclude, it was begun and conſiderably advanced by Hugh de Wells, and finiſhed by biſhop Groſthead, who raiſed the rood tower as high as the bottom of the upper windows. The two chapels D and E with the porch F were built, and the additions to the width and height of the weſt front were made, at the ſame time. By theſe additions the church was enlarged; and, as this new work was begun by biſhop *Hugh de Wells*, it was afterwards attributed to *St. Hugh the Burgundian*.

Biſhop Groſthead having compleated the nave and great tranſept, and carried the rood tower one order above the roof, H. Lexington his ſucceſſor applied to Henry III. for leave to remove the wall at the eaſt end [*a*], which was granted in the

[*a*] Charta Henry III. de remotione muri orientalis civitatis. Dugdale.

year

year 1256; and ſoon after they took down the ſemicircular end of St. Hugh's choir, and added the five arches beyond the upper tranſept. This I ſuppoſe was done in the latter part of Henry the Third's reign, while Richard de Graveſend and Oliver Sutton were biſhops. Theſe five arches are the moſt beautiful part of the church, and moſt perfect ſpecimen of the ſtyle of building which prevailed at that time in England. Dr. Stukeley, ſuppoſing this work much older than it is, ſays [*b*], "When "Alexander the biſhop projected a ſtructure of much larger di- "menſions, they carried the ſacred encloſure beyond the "eaſtern bounds of the city, and ſo built a new wall farther "that way, as it is now, with battlements and towers." But the ſtyle of this building ſufficiently proves, that it could be no part of Alexander's work; and the grant of Henry III. ſhews, that the boundary wall was not removed before the year 1256. This miſtake might ariſe from a charter of Henry I, to biſhop Alexander, *De porta de Eſtgate, cum terris quæ ſupra ipſam ſunt* [*c*]; but theſe grounds were not taken in before the year 1299, when biſhop Sutton obtained a charter from Edward I. to encompaſs the cloſe of the church with a wall. Here it may be proper to obſerve, that, before Remigius's church was built, the city was encloſed on the ſouth and eaſt, if not on the north and weſt ſides, with two walls: one was the old Roman wall, the other nearly parallel at ſeveral yards diſtant from it; to both walls there were gates; thoſe in the ſouth and eaſt were ſtanding not many years ago; the inner gates were like that on the north, called Newport gate, the outer gates were more modern. The church was built within the ſouth eaſt quarter

[*b*] Stukeley's Itinerarium Curioſum, I. page 83.
[*c*] Charta Henry I. De porta de Eſtgata. Dugdale's Monaſt.

of this city, bounded on the ſouth by the Roman wall; on the weſt by the public way running from the ſouth to the north gate; on the north by another public way running from the weſt to the eaſt gate; and on the eaſt by the wall of the outer encloſure that way. Whether the Roman wall was removed before the ground was granted to Remigius, is uncertain; but that it was removed before the church was built cannot be doubted, if that biſhop and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors were buried in the upper north tranſept, as hiſtorians relate; for the foundations which appear north and ſouth of the church ſhew the line in which it runs muſt have paſſed through that tranſept near the line G H; but the wall, which was removed in Henry the third's time, ſtood near the line I K. The ground lying on the ſouth, between the two walls, was given to biſhop Robert de Cheſney by a charter of Henry II. [*d*]: but Henry I. by a former charter gave biſhop R. Bloet leave to make a way through the city wall *ad ſua neceſſaria facienda ad domum ſuam* [*e*]; by which it is probable he began the palace which Robert Cheſne finiſhed. Within this ſpace were likewiſe included the churches of St. Michael and St. Andrew, as appears by the charter of Henry II. to biſhop Cheſne.

THE rood tower, which biſhop Groſthead raiſed one order above the roof, remained unfiniſhed until the reign of Edward II: but, ſoon after the year 1306, biſhop John D'Alderby raiſed it to the preſent height, and finiſhed it with a lofty ſpire of timber covered with lead; and about the ſame time the weſtern towers were raiſed, and ſpires of the ſame kind added

[*d*] Charta Henry II. De foſſato & muro Ballii ad faciendam portam. Dugdale's Monaſt.

[*e*] Charta Henry I. De faciendo exitu in muro Caſtelli ſui. Ib.

to them, which until that time continued in the ſtate Robert Bloet had left them: but in the year 1547 the ſpire on the rood tower fell down, which damaged the roof over the choir, and deſtroyed the battlements of the tower. The roof was ſoon repaired, but the battlements were not reſtored until the year 1775.

THE ſcreen and rood loft, with the ſtalls in the choir, I imagine were made in the time of Edward II; and the ſouth end of the great tranſept, as low as the bottom of the great roſe window, in the time of Edward III.

MR. Willis, and Godwin from Leland [*f*], ſay, the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen without the north wall of the church was built in the ſame reign by biſhop Gynewell. If he means the chapel marked (D) in the plan (oppoſite the conſiſtory court, and now uſed for the morning prayers), he muſt be miſtaken; that chapel being the ſame which was built by biſhop Groſthead: but it is probable, he rebuilt and lengthened one of the ſemicircular chapels in the upper north tranſept (L), called ſometimes St. Mary's chapel, which a few years ago was reſtored to its original form.

MR. Willis muſt be miſtaken likewiſe in ſaying that biſhop William Alnwick made the ſtately ſouth porch; for, if he means the beautiful porch on the ſouth ſide of the preſbytery, that is evidently part of the original building erected in the reign of Henry III. the two adjoining chapels M and N are more modern. One of them was built by biſhop Ruſſel in the reign of Henry VII. the other by biſhop Longland, in imitation of it, in the reign of Henry VIII; or, if he means the great porch (F) adjoining to the ſouth end of the great tranſept, that is as old as the tranſept itſelf. But, as much was done in the reign of Henry VI. at the Weſt end of the church, particularly the vaulting under the ſouth and north towers, the three windows over the weſt doors, and other ornamental work on the inſide, with

[*f*] Itin. viii. 49. b. where he is miſcalled *Gwyney*.

the tabernacles and ſtatues over the great door on the outſide; it is probable they were done in the time of biſhop Alnwick; and, as he was buried in the middle of the nave near the weſt door, he might have made the vaulting under the ſouth tower at his own expence, which being the entrance into the ſouth aile or portico might be called the ſouth porch.

I will not in theſe remarks undertake to determine the precedency betwixt the churches of York and Lincoln; but, as the point has been long conteſted, I will give the opinion of the late lord Burlington upon the queſtion, extracted from a letter of the late Mr. Sympſon of Lincoln to Mr. Precentor Trimnel, dated July 9, 1740 [*g*].

" Be pleaſed, Sir, with my humble ſervice, to let Mr. " Willis know ſo much, that the precedency betwixt our " church and that of York may be no longer a queſtion with him.

" I have his lordſhip's leave to ſay, that this is by far the " nobleſt Gothic ſtructure in England, and York in no degree " comparable to it. He even prefers our weſt front to any " thing of the kind in Europe; and ſays, that whoever had " the conducting of it was well acquainted with the nobleſt " buildings of Old Rome, and had united ſome of their greateſt " beauties in that one work [*h*]."

Lord Burlington had a taſte for architecture, and was as capable of deciding this queſtion as any perſon; but the merit of Gothic architecture was then but little noticed, and the diſtinctions of ſtyle but little known. It was the faſhion to apply the name of Gothic to every irregular or diſproportioned

[*g*] From the Rev. Mr. Cole's MS. Collections.

[*h*] Dr. Stukeley thought that the effect produced by York or Beverley much exceeded Lincoln. The general proportion of York is much grander, and the whiteneſs of the ſtone renders it incomparably more beautiful. MS. Letter to R. Gale, Eſq; 1740.

building;

building; and, ſtrange as it muſt appear, the nobleſt of our old cathedrals, and other ingenious works, have been no better eſteemed than the productions of a rude people, who were ignorant of all the principles of deſigning, and the art of executing. But, under whatever denomination the conductors of theſe noble fabricks may be placed, whether we call them Goths or Free-maſons, we muſt acknowledge that the ſtyle of building which they uſed was brought to a more perfect ſyſtem by them, than the Greek or Roman has been by modern architects; and that the principles on which it was founded were unknown to the greateſt profeſſors of architecture ſince the Reformation, is evident from the attempts of Inigo Jones, Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Kent, and many others of inferior abilities ſince their time, who have endeavoured to imitate it without ſucceſs. But we are not to conclude, that the conductors of theſe ſtately fabricks had no principles to direct them, becauſe theſe great men did not diſcover them; for if any one, who is properly qualified, will diveſt himſelf of his prejudices in favour of the mode of building which faſhion has made agreeable, and impartially examine the merits of thoſe Gothic buildings which are perfect, he muſt acknowledge, that the ancient Free-maſons were equal to our modern architects in taſte for deſigning (agreeable to the mode of their times), and ſuperior to them in abilities to execute; that they perfectly underſtood the nature and uſe of proportions, and knew how to vary them when they wanted to produce a ſtriking effect. In the execution of their deſigns, they knew how to pleaſe, by uniting neatneſs and delicacy in their work; and to ſurprize, by the artful execution of it. In ſhort, when we conſider the greatneſs of their deſigns, we muſt allow they had a taſte well adapted to the religion and genius of the age in which they lived.

XIV. *Ac-*

XIV. *Account of the Diſcoveries at* Pompeii, *communicated by Sir* William Hamilton.

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Jan. 26, Feb. 2—8, 1775.

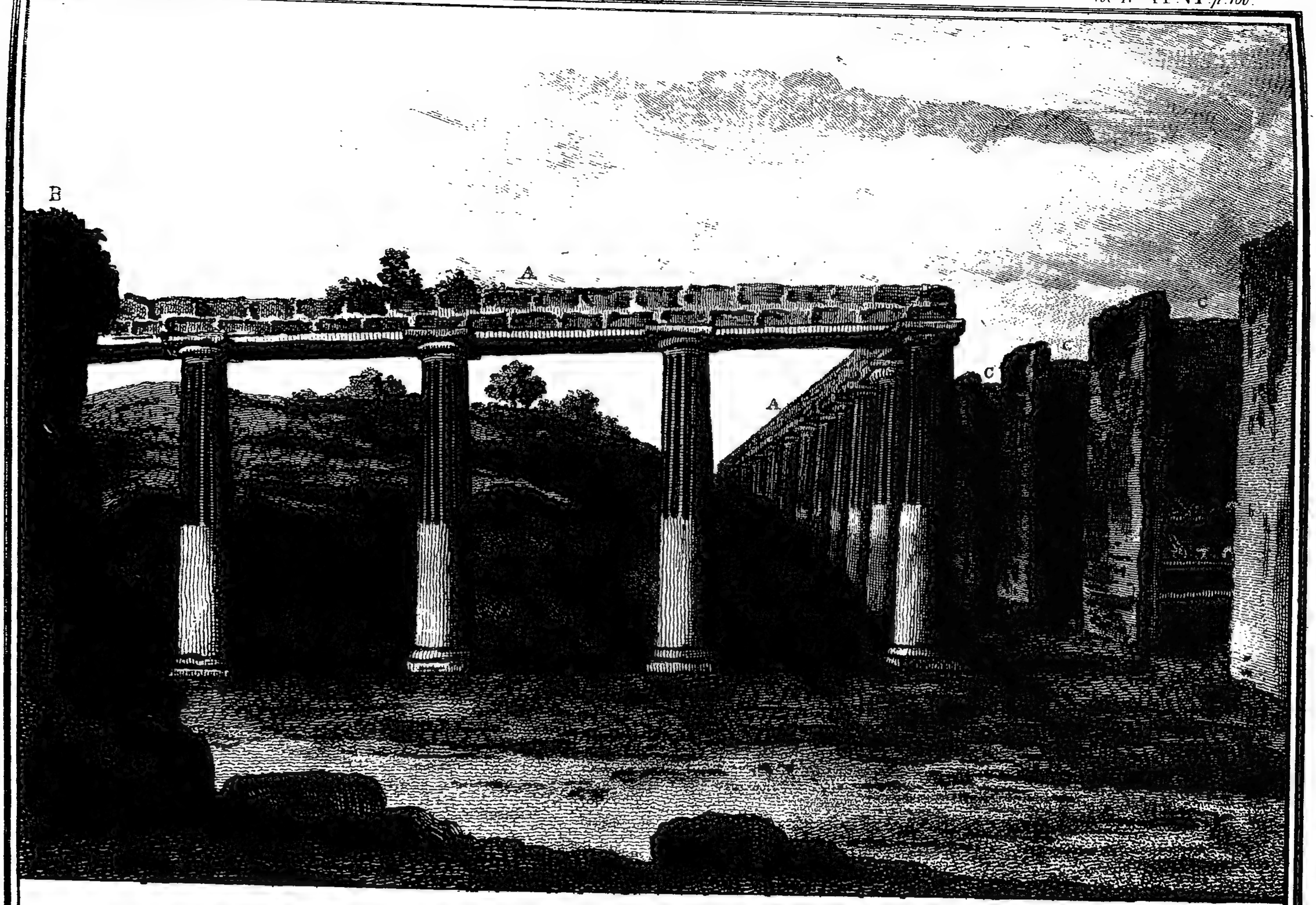
Plate VI.

View of the Place of Arms at the little Gate of Pompeii towards Stabia.

A Colonade, round a ſquare court, not yet cleared from the rubbiſh of pumice ſtones, and aſhes, B. B. by which the city was overwhelmed. The columns are of coarſe ſtone, coated with plaiſter or ſtucco, and coloured. On many of the columns, the ſoldiers have idly ſcratched their names, ſome in Greek, and ſome in Latin.

C. C. C. Rooms, in which the ſoldiers were quartered. The ſkeletons of ſome were found in them; as alſo ſeveral helmets, and pieces of armour for the arms, thighs, and legs, but none for the breaſt. Theſe pieces of armour are moſtly ornamented with Dolphins and Tridents in relievo, and ſome are encruſted with ſuch ornaments in ſilver; which moſt probably indicates their having been deſtined for ſea ſervice.

The


B
A
A
C
C
C

THE helmets are ſingularly formed, not unlike the hats uſed by the firemen in London. Some are very richly ornamented, and one particularly beautiful and intereſting, with the principal events of the taking of Troy admirably executed in relievo. Some have vizors, like the helmets of the lower ages, with gratings or round holes to ſee through. From their ſize and weight, it has been diſputed, whether they had been really worn, or were only intended as ornaments for trophies; but, as I was preſent at the diſcovery of ſome of them, and ſaw diſtinctly part of the linings which where then adhering to them, and are now fallen out, I have no doubt as to their having been worn. A curious trumpet of braſs, with ſix ivory flutes attached to the outſide of it, and all communicating to one mouthpiece, was found in one of theſe rooms. The flutes are without holes for the fingers. A chain of bronze hung to it, probably that the trumpeter might ſling it over his ſhoulder. It might be a very proper military inſtrument, and produce a ſpirited *Clangor Tubarum*, but not much variety or harmony.

IN the priſon of this barrack, the ſkeletons of ſeveral ſoldiers were found, and ſome with iron fetters on their leg-bones; their ſculls are now placed on the ſhelves D. for the inſpection of the curious. It is certain, that in theſe ſculls, and in many others, that have been found at Pompeii, the teeth are remarkably ſound; perhaps among the Ancients, who did not make uſe of ſugar, they might not be ſo ſubject to decay as ours.

Plate VII.

The poor remains of a temple and altar near the place of arms. It had been discovered and stripped before his Sicilian Majesty carried on his works here. The peasants, digging to plant their vines, often broke into houses and temples, and used to carry on a good trade with what they found therein. The present workmen often discover the evident signs of former excavations.

B. A Semicircular stone seat at the side of the temple.

C. Pumice, and rubbish, over the uncleared part of the city.

D. The island of Caprea.

E. The coast of Sorrento.

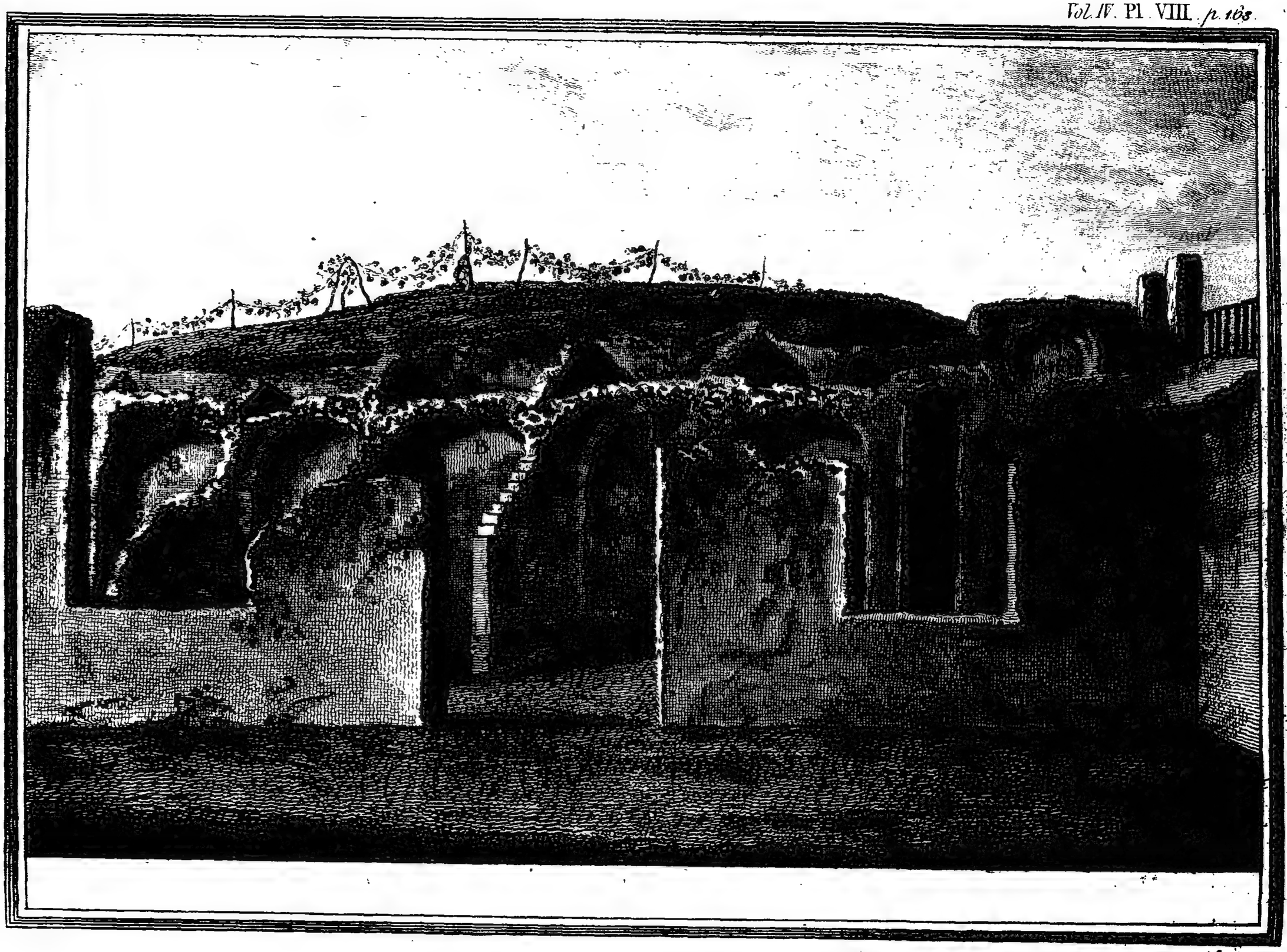
F. The town of Castel a Mare; near which is the ancient city of Stabia, buried at the same time as Pompeii by the ashes of Mount Vesuvius. Here it was also that Pliny the Elder lost his life.

BEFORE the king of Spain left Naples, excavations were carried on there, and many of the beautiful monuments of antiquity, now in the Museum at Portici, were taken from thence. When the researches were carried on at Herculaneum, and Pompeii was opened, the entrance into the ancient city of Stabia was walled up, and remains so. By the accounts I have received from the inspector of these works, when carried on at Stabia, there is a great probability, that further very curious and interesting discoveries might be made in that city.

E

D

Bauer sc.


B

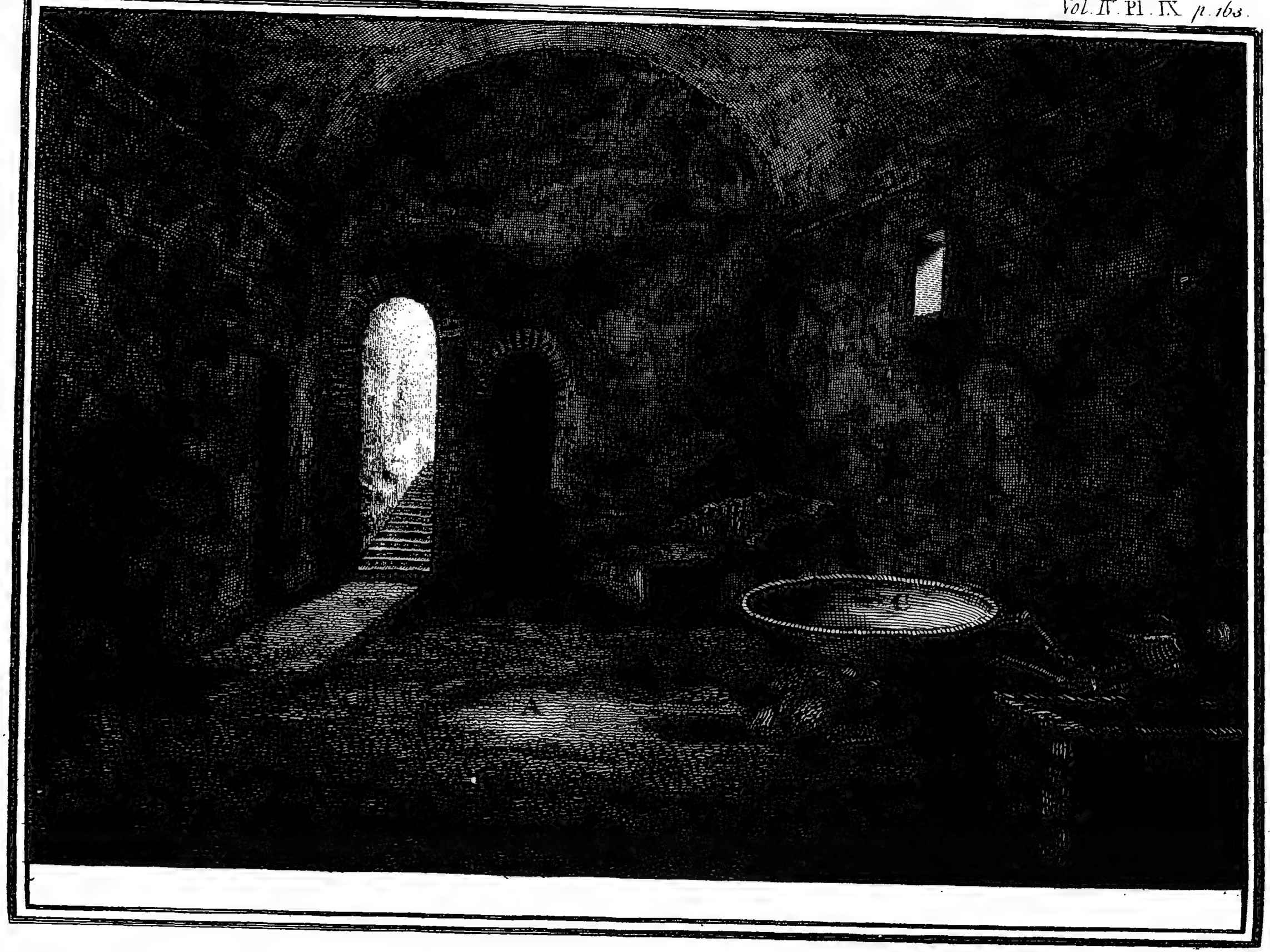


Plate VIII.

ed rubbish. Over the pumice ſtones and aſhes is a ſtratum of good ſoil, on which vines grow, as they do over every uncleared part of the buried city.

B. B. B. Rooms, ſome of which were enriched with elegant paintings in Arabeſque compartments, that have been cut out, and depoſited in the Muſeum at Portici. Moſt of the floors are of teſſerated Moſaic; the beſt of which have been carried alſo to the Muſeum at Portici, and actually ſerve as floors of rooms in that Muſeum.

C. Little door, through which you deſcend a ſtair-caſe into the ſubterraneous room repreſented in Plate IX.

Plate IX.

A. Room adjoining to the bathing apartment, and where, probably, the linen belonging to the baths was waſhed.

B. Well.

C. Waſhing veſſel of earthen ware.

D. Fire-place, on which a large boiler of bronze was found, which is now, amongſt the kitchen utenſils, depoſited in the Muſeum at Portici.

E. Skeleton of the waſher-woman (for anatomiſts ſay it is that of a female); ſhe ſeems to have been ſhut up in this vault, the ſtair caſe having been filled with rubbiſh, and to have waited for death with calm reſignation, and true Roman for-

titude, as the attitude of the ſkeleton really ſeems to indicate. It was at my inſtigation, that the bones were left untouched on the ſpot were they were found.

F. Door leading to the ſtove room next the bath, which is in a ſmall circular room.

G. Fire-place, that heated the ſtove room.

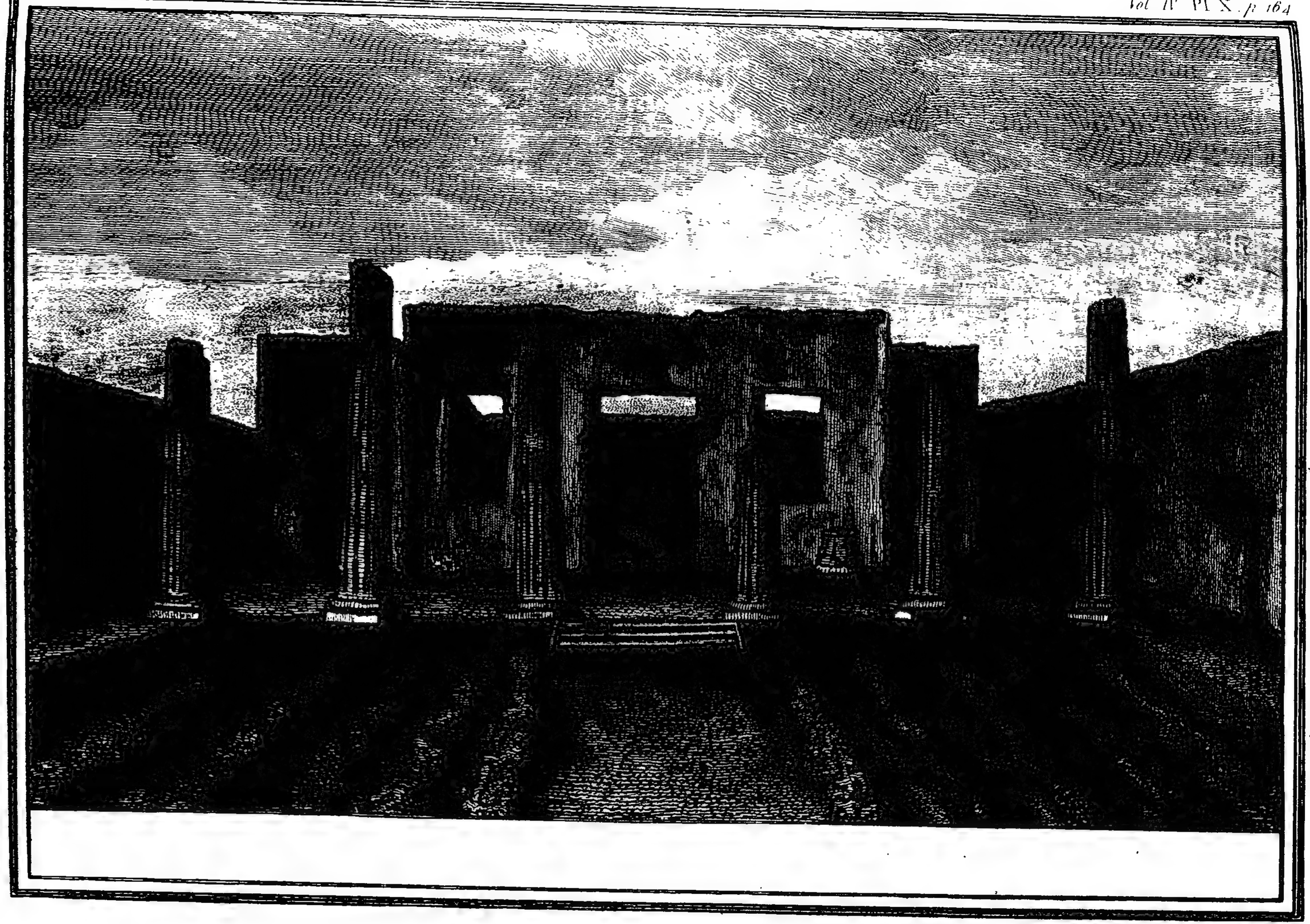
Plate X.

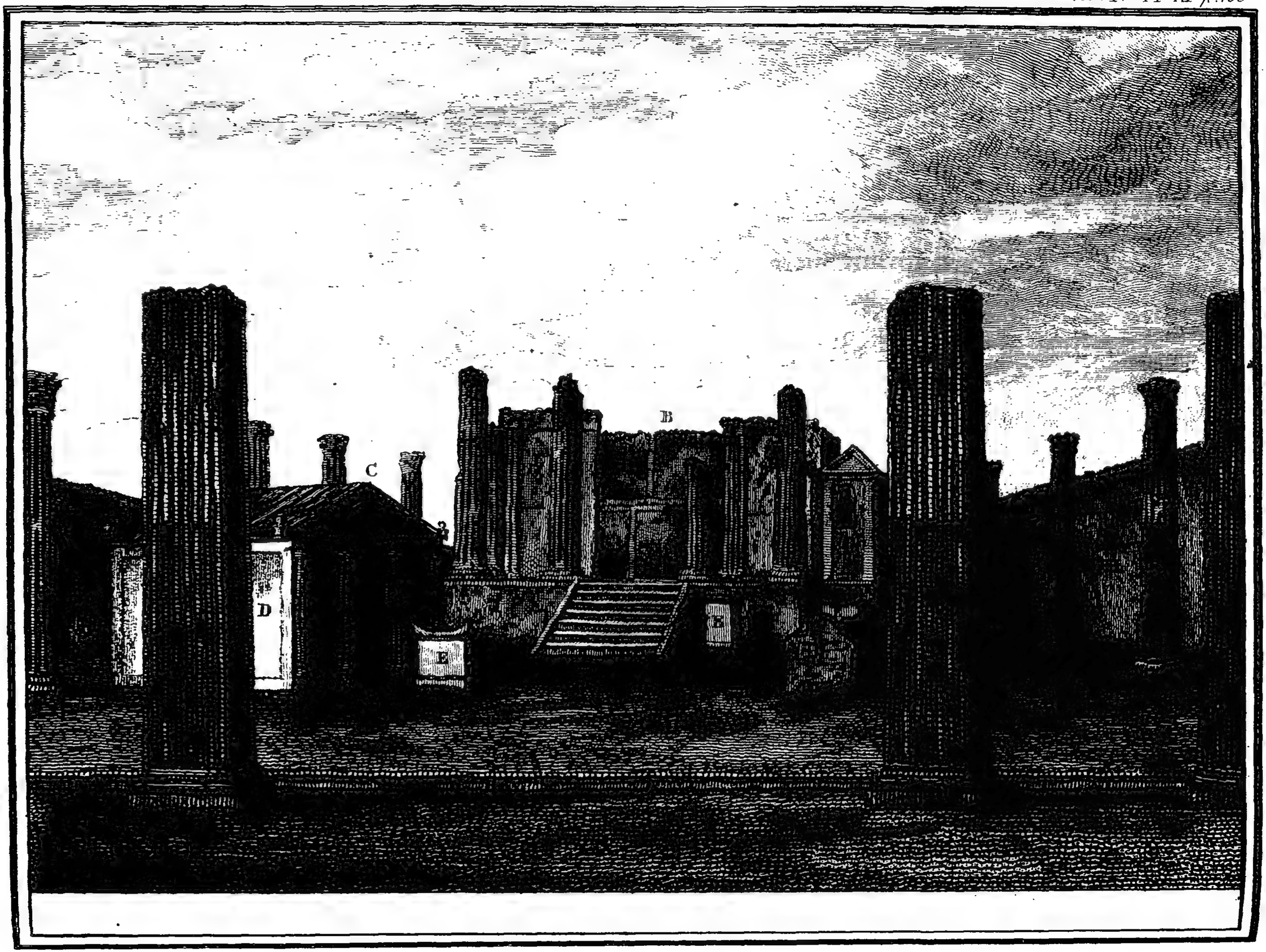
A ſmall houſe, and garden, near the Temple of Iſis. A covered cloyſter, ſupported by columns, goes round the houſe, as was cuſtomary in many of the houſes at Pompeii. The rooms in general are very ſmall; and in one, where an iron bedſtead was found, the wall had been pared away, to make room for this bedſtead; ſo that it was not ſix feet ſquare, and yet this room was moſt elegantly painted, and had a teſſerated or Moſaic floor [*a*]. The weight of the matter erupted from Mount Veſuvius has univerſally damaged the upper parts of the houſes; the lower parts are moſtly found as freſh as the moment they were buried. The plan of moſt of the houſes at Pompeii is a ſquare court, with a fountain in the middle, and ſmall rooms round, communicating with that court.

By the conſtruction and diſtribution of the houſes, it ſeems that the inhabitants of Pompeii were fond of privacy. They had few windows towards the ſtreet, except when, from the nature of the plan, they could not avoid it; but even in that caſe the

[*a*] Sir John Clark, of Pennycuick, obſerves, in a letter to Mr. Gale, that he never ſaw a *fire-place* in the Roman ruins, except of the Thermæ.

windows




C
B
D
E
E

windows were placed too high for any one in the ſtreets to overlook them.

THEIR houſes nearly reſembled each other, both as to diſtribution of plan, and in the manner of finiſhing the apartments. The rooms are in general ſmall, from ten to twelve feet, and from fourteen to eighteen feet; few commmunications between room and room; almoſt all without windows, except the apartments ſituated to the garden, which are thought to have been allotted to the women.

THEIR *Cortiles* were often ſurrounded by porticos, in very ſmall houſes. Not but there were covered galleries before the doors of their apartments, to afford ſhade and ſhelter. No timber was uſed in finiſhing their apartments, except in doors, and windows. The floors were generally laid in Moſaic work. One general taſte prevailed of painting the ſides and cielings of the rooms. Small figures, and medallions of low relief, were ſometimes introduced. Their great variety conſiſted in the colours, and in the choice and delicacy of the ornaments, in which they diſplayed great harmony and taſte. Their houſes were ſome two, others three ſtories high.

Plate XI.

Interior View of the Chapel of Iſis.

A. Covered Cloyſter.

B. Great Altar, on which probably was placed the principal ſtatue of the deity; but, as there were evident ſigns of previous ſearches in this ſpot, nothing of conſequence was found.

C. Temple

C. Temple, covering the ſacred well, to which you deſcend by ſteps. Generally, there is a foul vapour, or moffette, as it is called here, like the damp of mines, which prevents your going down theſe ſteps. In the pediment over the door of the temple, in ſtucco relief, is a vaſe with a figure on each ſide of it in the act of adoration. This vaſe was probably the ſymbol of Iſis, who was adored as water, earth, or fire. The other ſtucco ornaments on the front of the temple allude to the Egyptian worſhip, being compoſed of the flower Lotus, the Siſtrum, the Gods Anubis, Harpocrates, &c. and the ſtuccos are in ſome parts coloured.

THE ornaments on the ſide D. repreſent Perſeus with the Gorgon's head; and on the oppoſite ſide Mars, and Venus, with flying Cupids carrying the arms of Mars.

E. E. E. Altars of different ſizes. On the great one, next the ſacred well, the burnt bones of the victims were found, ſome of which ſtill remain there.

F. Nich, in which was found a marble ſtatue of a female, with her fore-finger on her lips.

G. A well into which the aſhes of the victims were thrown.

H. H. H. The walls of the cloyſters, that were beautifully ornamented with Arabeſque paintings, moſt of which have been cut out, and carried to the Muſeum at Portici. Nothing can be in a more exquiſite taſte than the great foliage ornament, that went round the whole cloyſter.

NEAR the great altar B. and againſt the wall marked I. was a tablet of baſalte, with Egyptian hieroglyphics engraved thereon, which has been carried to the Muſeum at Portici.

THE ſtatue of Iſis was found ſtanding on a pedeſtal inſcribed,

L. CAECILIVS
PHOBVS
POSVIT T. S. D. D.

Over the great gate of the Chapel was the following Inscription in large characters, which has been likewise deposited in the Museum at Portici:

N. POPIDIVS N.F. CELSINVS
AEDEM ISIDIS TERRAE MOTV CONLAPSAM
A FVNDAMENTO P. SVA RESTITVIT.
HVNC DECVRIONES OB LIBERALITATEM
CVM ESSET ANNORVM SEX. ORDINI SVO
GRATIS ADLEGERVNT.

It is pity that such monuments of antiquity as are not in immediate danger of suffering from the injuries of the weather, should have been removed from their places, where they would have afforded satisfaction and instruction to the curious who visit these antiquities. Many travellers have seen this chapel without knowing that it was certainly a chapel of Isis, and rebuilt by N. Popidius, after having been destroyed by an earthquake. The inscription, being now confounded with many others from Herculaneum and Stabia, in the court of the Museum at Portici, may have easily escaped their notice. The columns of the chapel of Isis are of brick covered with stucco, and painted.

In a room behind the altar B. a skeleton was found with a plate near it, on which were the bones of a fish; and the utensils that had been used in dressing that fish were found in a little kitchen adjoining. In another room was likewise found a skeleton with an iron crow lying near it. The paintings of the sides of this room, and even the brick wall, are much broken, probably by this person, who was inclosed by the cruel shower of pumice-stones and ashes that covered the city, and had been endeavouring, in vain, with the iron crow, to force his way out.

out. Cloſe to the chapel of Iſis is a theatre, no more of which has been cleared than the ſcene and the corridor that leads to the ſeats. In this corridor, was a retiring-place for neceſſary occaſions, where the pipe to convey the water, and the baſon, like that of our water-cloſets, ſtill remain; the wood of the ſeat only having mouldered away by time.

Plate XII.

A. Principal entrance of the city of Pompeii.

B. B. Seats of ſtone, one of which, with a ſepulchral inſcription, is now in the court of the Muſeum at Portici.

C. Pedeſtal of a coloſſal ſtatue of bronze, ſome fragments of the drapery of which were found near it, the reſt having probably been carried off by the peaſants. Many curious monuments of this kind have been, as I am informed, melted down by them, and ſold for the weight of the metal.

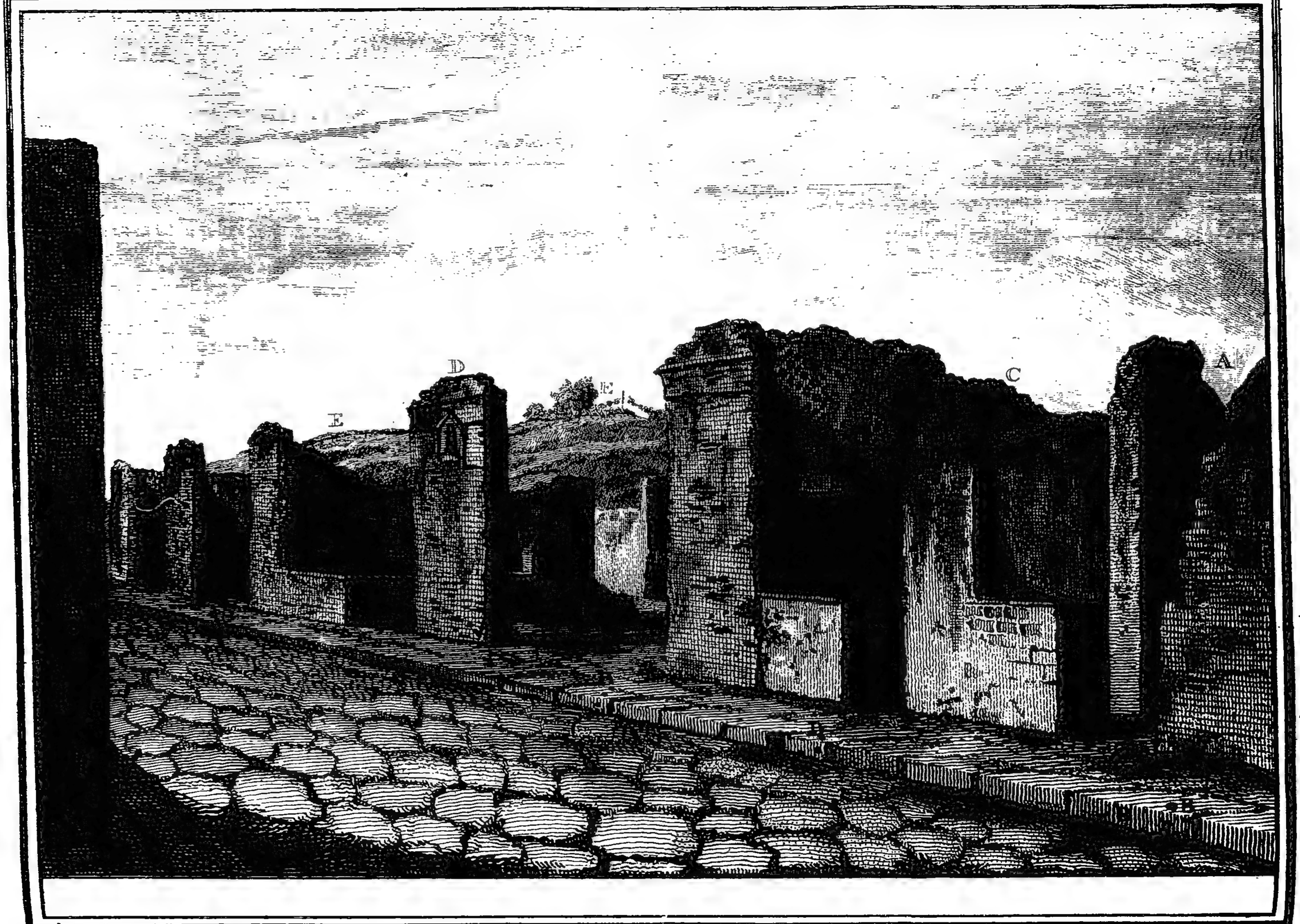
THE width of the horſe-way of the ſtreet is in general about ten feet eight inches Engliſh, and the elevated foot way, on each ſide, is about three feet wide; but in ſome parts both horſe and foot way are wider.

THE tracks of the wheels of carriages are plainly marked on the pavement, by which we ſee, that the wheels were near 4 feet aſunder, and the wheel itſelf about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad.

IN a little room which you enter by the door D, was found the famous and beautiful Tripod of bronze ſupported by Priapi Fauns, which now ſtands on a table in the firſt room of the Muſeum at Portici. This gate of the town was diſcovered many years ago, (it is now twenty-ſeven years ſince the king of Spain began firſt to ſearch at Pompeii), but it is not above five years that



Basire Sc.


D
E
E
C
A

that they have thought proper to enter the town by the gate, having contented themselves with digging into houſes here and there at random, taking out what they could find, and filling up the holes again.

E. E. Fragments of columns.

F. F. Uncleared rubbiſh over the city.

Plate XIII.

VIEW of the ruins of the houſes on the right-hand ſide of the ſtreet as you enter the gate.

A. The firſt houſe was thought to have been an inn. The bones of horſes were found in the ſtables; and in the cellar large earthen veſſels for wine.

THROUGH ſtones of the foot pavement B. B. B. are holes bored, which probably ſerved to paſs the halters of horſes or mules, while they ſtood at the doors of the houſes.

C. The next houſe ſeemed, by what was found in the ſhop, to have been that of an apothecary.

D. The Priapus, cut in ſtone, and placed in a niche on the outſide wall of this houſe, is called here the ſign of the Brothel, which they ſuppoſe to have been kept in the houſe; but it has more probably been placed there in honour of the Deity ſo called, in the ſame manner as we ſee frequently now, againſt the houſes of this country, a St. Francis, a St. Antony, &c. It is evident, from the very public ſituation, that ſuch a repreſentation did not in thoſe days convey any indecent idea.

E. E. Vineyards over other parts of the city, as yet uncleared.

Plate XIV.

VIEW of the left-hand ſide of the ſtreet as you enter the gate.

A. A. A. Shops. The tiled ſheds, repreſented in the plate, are modern, and placed there to preſerve the paintings on the walls, which are very lively. About one hundred yards only of the ſtreet has been as yet cleared; it is thought to run through the whole city, which is about an Italian mile in length, and about 3 miles $\frac{1}{2}$ round.

B. B. Vineyards and cottages over the uncleared city.

C. Entrance to the houſe, one of the beſt as yet diſcovered, and repreſented in plate X.

Plate XV.

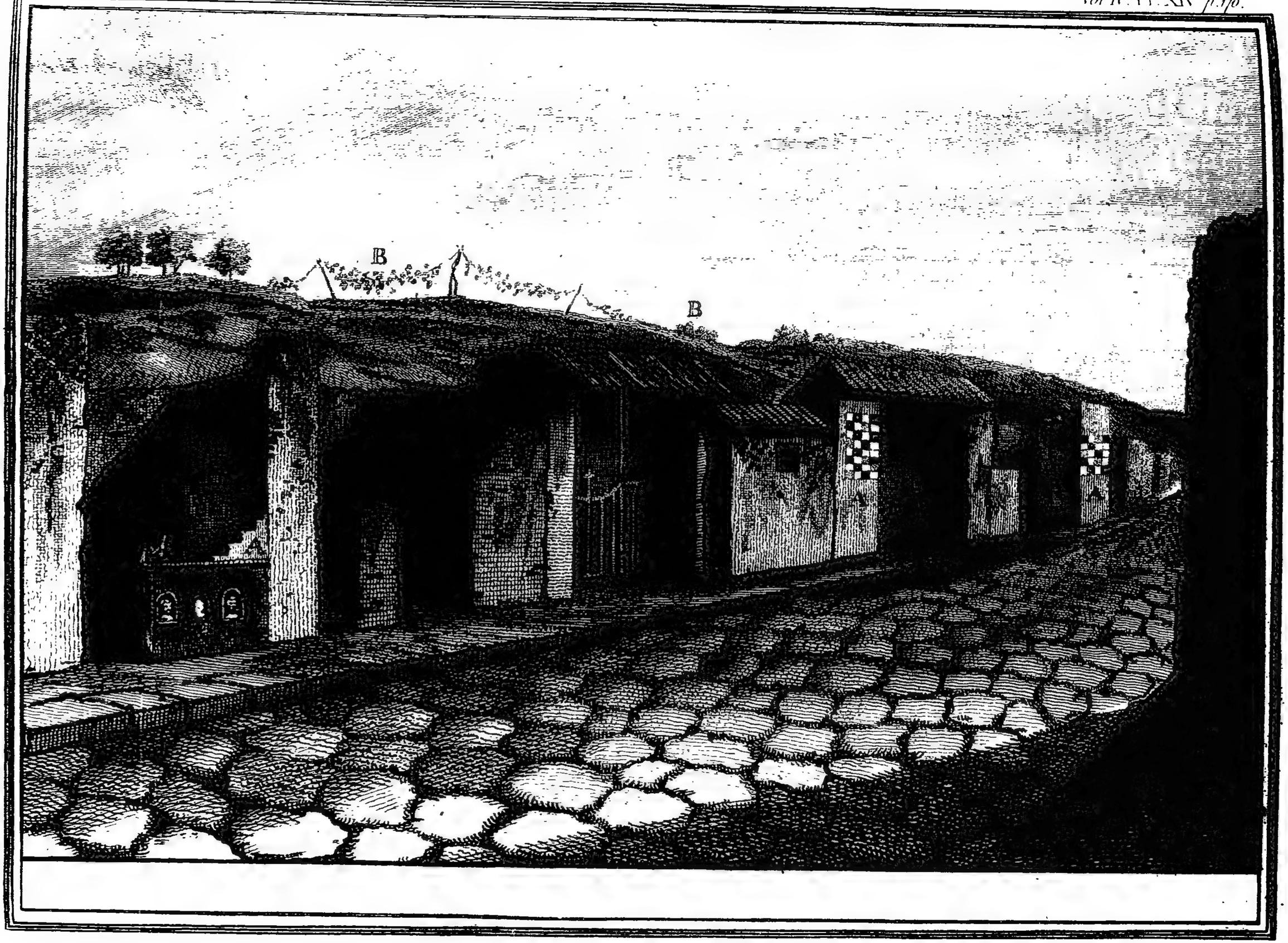
A. Court with ſeveral rooms opening to it, one of which is thirty feet long by fifteen, the largeſt room as yet diſcovered at Pompeii.

B. B. B. The rooms; the paintings of which were very elegant; but the beſt parts have been cut out and tranſported to the Muſeum at Portici.

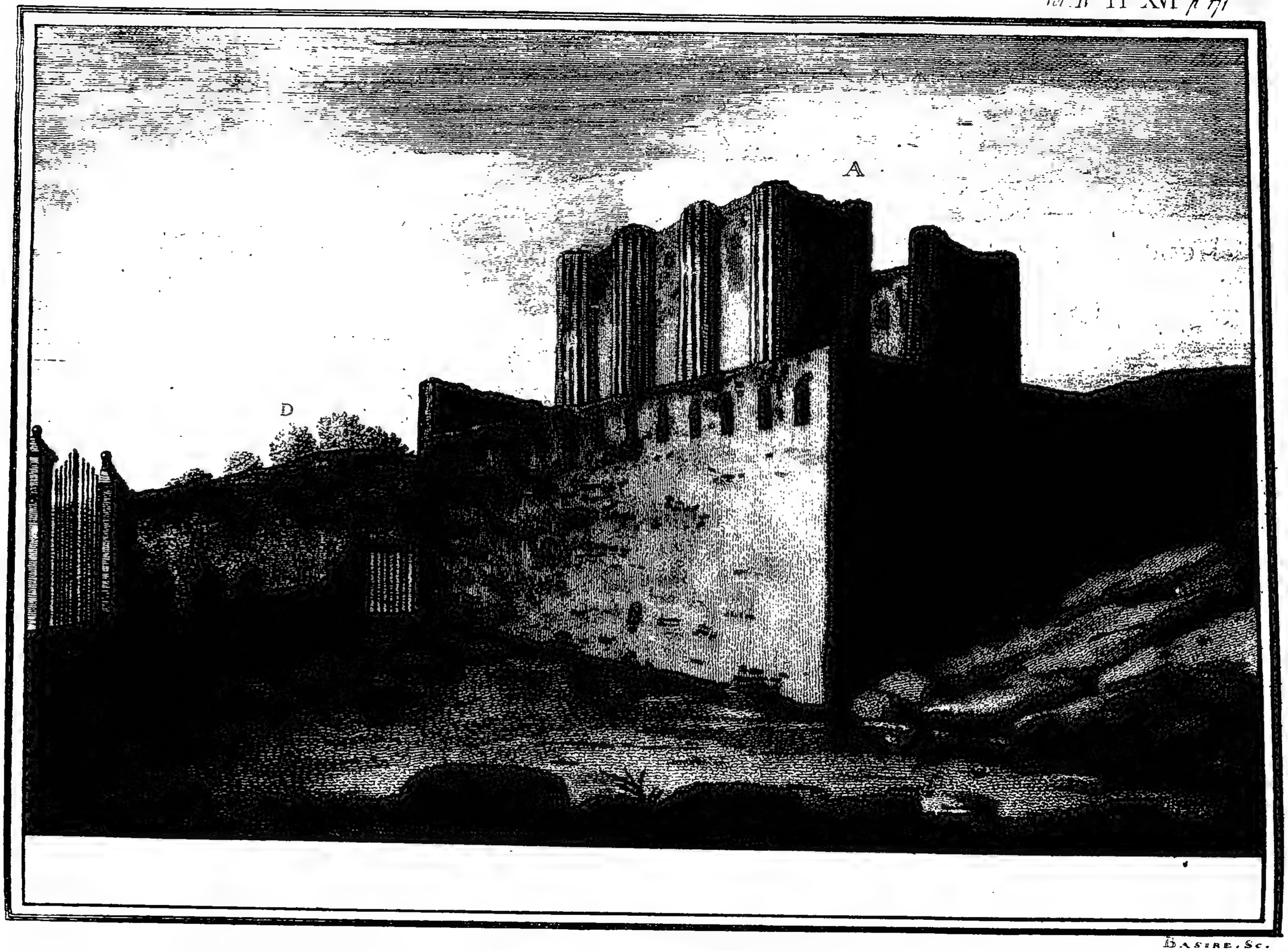
C. Where the rain-water was collected, and ran into a reſervoir underneath.

D. D. Vineyards over the uncleared parts of the city.

Plate


B
B


D
D



Basire. Sc.

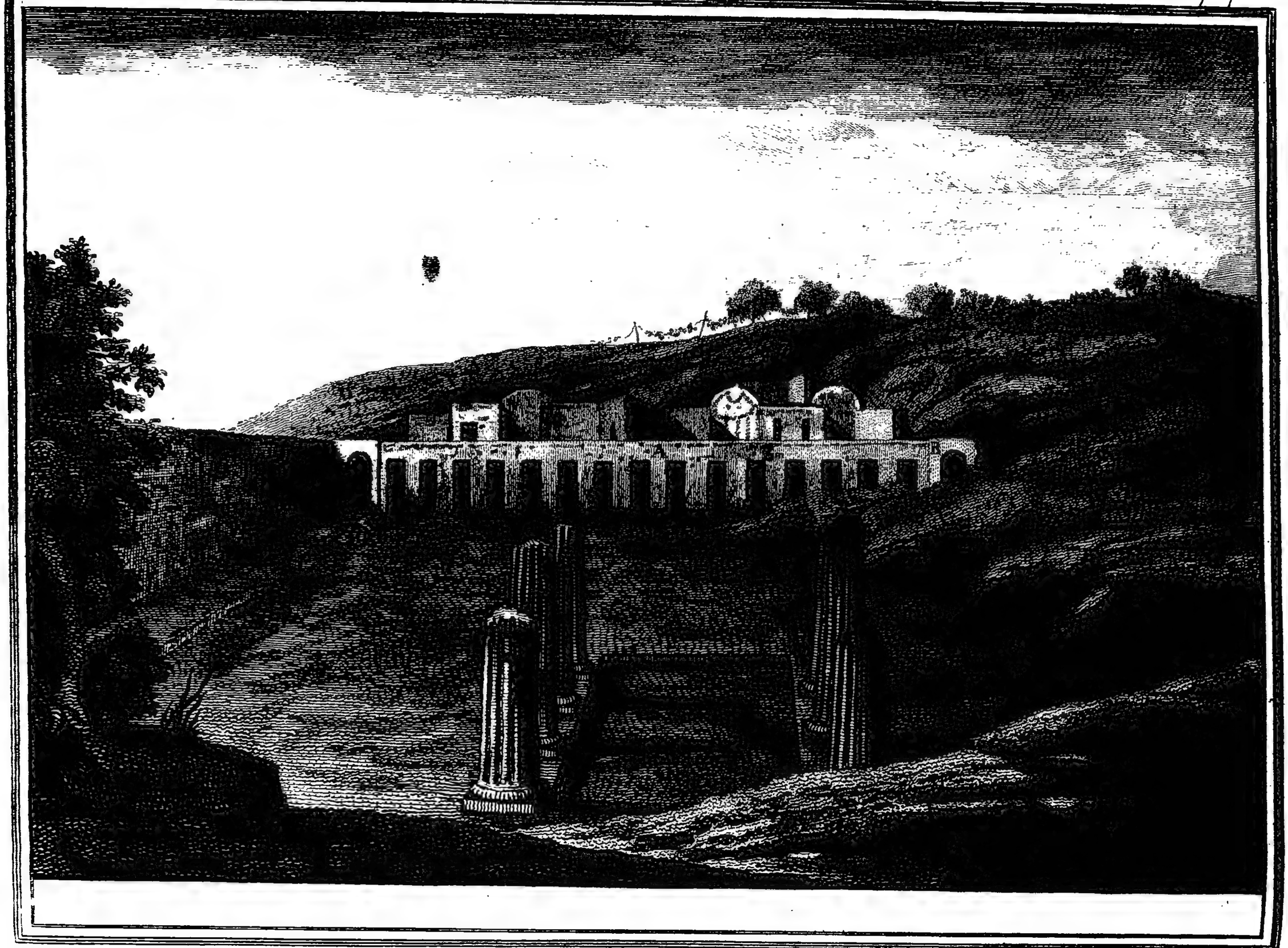


Plate XVI.

A view of a great ſepulchre, or columbarium, out of the gates of the city: ſeveral marble ſtatues, not very well executed, were found therein, which are now in the Muſeum at Portici.

B. Coloſſal maſks of terra cotta in the ſituation in which they were found.

Under them in vaults C. C. were found ſome ſepulchral urns with aſhes therein. One of the urns was of glaſs, with a cover of the ſame material; this urn was depoſited in an earthen one, and that again covered with lead, which is now preſerved in the Muſeum at Portici.

D. Uncleared parts of the city.

Plate XVII.

The preſent excavations are carrying on at a ſort of Villa Ruſtica out of the city.

The Villa appears as repreſented A. The lower arcade is a covered walk for ſummer, looking into a garden and yard, into which open ſeveral coved rooms richly ornamented with paintings, as freſh as the day they were executed. Over this walk is an open terras leading to the greater apartments of the upper ſtory. There is a hot and cold bath in this houſe.

Below ſtairs is a room, B. with a large bow-window; fragments of large panes of glaſs were found here, ſhewing, that the ancients knew well the uſe of glaſs for windows.

IN the cellars, which are very ſpacious, and run under the covered arcade, are numbers of large earthen vaſes for wine, ranged againſt the walls; they are full of earth; the wine was probably covered with oil, and no otherwiſe ſecured, as is practiſed here now, the great bottles having no corks, but oil. The ſkeletons of twenty-three of the family were found in this cellar; ſome rings, ear-rings, &c. &c. and ſome coins of gold, ſilver, and braſs, moſt of which are of the Emperor Galba.

THE back part of the Villa was deſigned for the farmer, the rooms of which are ſimply ornamented; ſeveral ſpades, pickaxes, and other implements of huſbandry, were found there. It has a ſeparate entry, and is perfectly ſhut out from the noble part of the Villa. Upon the whole, the plan of this houſe is very curious. It has been well taken by his Sicilian Majeſty's order, and will probably be publiſhed in time, with the reſt of the diſcoveries at Pompeii; and will afford infinite ſatisfaction to the lovers of antiquities.

IN the ſtreet, juſt out of the gate of this Villa, I ſaw lately a ſkeleton dug out; and, by deſiring the labourers to remove the ſcull and bones gently, I perceived diſtinctly the perfect mould of evey feature of the face, and that the eyes had been ſhut. I alſo ſaw diſtinctly the impreſſion of the large folds of the drapery of the toga, and ſome of the cloth itſelf ſtill ſticking to the earth.

THE city was firſt covered by a ſhower of hot pumice-ſtones and aſhes, and then by a ſhower of ſmall aſhes mixed with water. It was in the latter ſtratum that the ſkeleton above deſcribed was found. In the Muſeum at Portici a piece of this ſort of hardened mud is preſerved; it is ſtamped with the impreſſion of the breaſt of a woman, with a thin drapery over it. The ſkeleton

I ſaw

Plan of the Temple of ISIS.

Scale of English Feet

5 10 20 30 40 50 60

P
q
o
r
S
a
m
h
f
e
e
e
e
d
i
b
c
a
a
a
a
l
w
k
n
g
c
f
u

I ſaw dug out was not above five feet from the ſurface. It is very extraordinary, that the impreſſion of the body and face ſhould have remained ſo entire from the year 79 to this day, eſpecially as I found the earth ſo little hardened, that it ſeparated upon the leaſt touch.

C. Ruins of a building in the garden of the Villa.

D. D. Uncleared parts of Pompeii.

Plate XVIII.

Ground Plan of the Chapel of Iſis.

a. Covered portico, or cloyſter. A gutter runs round this portico to convey away the water, which fell from the roof, and is deſcribed in the plan.

b. The Temple ſituated in the area of the portico.

c. Cell of the Temple.

d. An altar the length of the temple, on which the idols were placed; it was hollow beneath, and formed a cell, from whence it is ſuppoſed the oracles were iſſued.

e. e. e. e. Large altars before the Temple, without any marks of fire having been placed on them.

f. Altar on which the ſacrifice was uſually offered, if we may judge from its top being burnt, and from the wall of the adjoining building being much ſtained with ſmoke.

g. Altars placed between the columns of the portico, of which five only remain.

h. The ſacred well, covered with a temple.

i. Well, in which the aſhes of the victims were depoſited.

k. Pedeſtal,

k. Pedeſtal, on which was found a beautiful ſtatue of Iſis about two feet high. It is of marble, the drapery was painted of a tender purple colour, and ſome parts of it gilt. She had a ſiſtrum of bronze in her right-hand; and in the left, the common Egyptian ſymbol which is explained by Antiquaries as the key to the ſluices of the Nile.

l. Niche in the wall for a Statue.

m. Room where the utenſils, perfumes, gums, &c. uſed at the ſacrifices, were kept.

n. A great hall, where it is ſuppoſed that parts of the victim were eaten by the prieſt. There are marked on the floor, in Moſaic, ſome names of the family of Celſinus; for what purpoſe is not known.

o. A kitchen.

p. Room with a ſmall veſſel for bathing.

q. Apartment for the keeper of the temple.

t. Corridor of the great theatre, which adjoined to the temple.

u. Principal ſtreet through the city, the horſe-way of which in this part is only ten feet ten inches wide, paved with flat ſtones of an irregular pentagon figure, their thickneſs from ten to fourteen inches. On each ſide is a foot-way raiſed eight inches, and three feet wide paved with ſmall ſtones at random. It is fenced by a curb-ſtone, in which, at the diſtance of every twelve or fourteen feet, is placed a guard-ſtone ſixteen inches high, to keep off the carriages, and it might alſo have ſerved the purpoſe of horſe-blocks, which were very neceſſary for the ancients, who did not make uſe of ſtirrups. This ſtreet is much narrower than any I have ſeen; the Appian way at Puzzole is thirteen feet ſeventeen inches wide in the clear of the horſe-way. The

tracks

tracks of the wheels of the carriages are worn in ſome parts into the pavement of Pompeii four inches deep.

w. Paſſage to the keeper's apartment.

THE diſpoſition of this temple is very different from thoſe deſcribed by Vitruvius, and it was probably built on the plan ſettled for the Egyptian worſhip. By the ſize of this temple, it does not appear to have been of much conſequence; and indeed in the inſcription it is only called the *Chapel* of Iſis.

THERE are ruins of another temple at Pompeii, the columns of which were between four and five feet diameter.

SOME traces of a deviation from the original plan of this temple (when it was rebuilt by N. Popidius Celſinus) are viſible: the columns do not all ſtand in their original ſituation. Perhaps the architect found it adviſeable to give a different diſpoſition to the inter-columnation of the portico.

IN an apartment near the temple is a bronze-ring fixed into the pavement marked t. in the plan. Perhaps the larger victims, offered in this temple, were firſt ſlaughtered in that place; and the parts, or whole of the beaſt, were carried from thence to the altars; which was not the caſe at the temple of Serapis at Puzzole, where the rings, to which the victims were tied, are ſtill to be ſeen in the pavement of that very magnificent temple.

XV. *Some account of a curious Seal Ring belonging to Sir* Richard Worſley, *of* Appledore combe, *in the* Iſle of Wight, *Bart. By the Rev. Dr.* Milles, *Dean of* Exeter. S. A. P.

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, June 29, 1775.

THIS curious ring [*a*] ſet in gold, and of exquiſite workmanſhip, is ſaid, by the worthy poſſeſſor, to have been in his family ever ſince the time of Henry VIII. whoſe property he ſuppoſes it originally to have been. He uſually wore it on his finger, and preſented it to Sir James Worſley his yeoman of the wardrobe, and governor of the Iſle of Wight. Nor was this a ſingle inſtance of that monarch's bounty to Sir James, whom he honoured with ſeveral valuable grants in the Iſle of Wight, where he frequently reſorted for the ſake of ſporting.

But, with all deference to this account, I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that the hiſtory alluded to on this Seal bears no relation to Henry VIII. nor the houſe of Tudor, but ſeems to be entirely confined to the family of Stuart.

The device repreſents a warrior completely armed from head to foot, and covered with a veſt or ſurcoat. His helmet is flat at the top, and brought round under his chin, exactly in the ſame form with thoſe worn in France about the middle of the 13th century, during the reign of St. Louis. The ſcabbard of

[*a*] Plate XIX.



Size of the Original

his ſword hangs by his ſide, but the ſword itſelf lies broken in two pieces at his feet. His uplifted arms graſp a ragged or knotted ſtaff, with which he is in the act of diſcharging a blow at a lion rampant who ſtands oppoſed to him. His ſhield, which hangs before him by a belt paſſing over his left ſhoulder, bears the coat armour of the Stuart family, viz. Or, a feſs cheque Az. & Argent. Over the lion's head, near the upper end of the ſeal, appears an arm in mail holding a ſhield with the above coat armour of the Stuarts, and in an eſcutcheon of pretence a lion rampant, the arms of Scotland, and of Bruce. The ſleeve of the drapery, which falls looſely from this arm, is ornamented on the border with three fleurs de lis; and the whole is incloſed within a double treſſure fleuri and contrefleuri, which, together with the lion rampant, form the arms of Scotland. There cannot be the leaſt doubt therefore as to the kingdom or perſonages to whom this relates; and the deſcent of it may be eaſily traced from the Stuarts into the Worſley family.

THE warrior here repreſented ſeems to be Walter Stuart, born anno 1393: ſo called from being hereditary lord high ſteward of Scotland. He married Margery, daughter of Robert Bruce, and ſiſter to David Bruce, kings of Scotland. David dying without iſſue male, Margery became an heireſs; and therefore it ſeems as if her arms were placed here in an eſcutcheon of pretence on thoſe of Walter Stuart her huſband. But, however that be, it is certain, that from this alliance of Walter Stuart with Margery Bruce, the royal family of the Stuarts are deſcended.

THE device here repreſented ſeems to be in ſome meaſure aſcertained by the account given of Sir Simeon Stuart's family in the Baronettage of England, which ſays, that Sir Alexander Stuart (a deſcendant from the younger ſon of the lords high

ſtewards of Scotland, and an anceſtor of Sir Simeon's family) had an honourable addition made to his coat armour by Charles the Sixth, king of France, viz. Argent, the lion of Scotland debruiſed with a ragged ſtaff bendwiſe Or, which coat is now borne in the 1ſt and 4th quarter, with the ancient arms of Stuart in the 2d and 3d, by the preſent baronets of that family.

THIS honour was probably granted to Sir Alexander on account of ſome martial achievement performed either by him or his anceſtors. But the Seal ſeems to determine it to Walter Stuart the huſband of Margery Bruce; and indeed there is not much above fifty years diſtance between his death and the acceſſion of Charles the Sixth to the crown of France, by whom this addition was given. Whether the combat was with a real lion, or whether that beaſt emblematically repreſents the conteſt for the crown of Scotland between the families of Bruce and Balliol, or any other royal or powerful foe, the conteſt at leaſt appears to have been very ſharp; becauſe the hero's ſword lies broken at his feet, and he is obliged to have recourſe to another weapon for ſubduing his enemy. Poſſibly the private memorials of Sir Simeon Stuart's family may lead to a diſcovery of the fact here alluded to; but I have not yet had an opportunity of making any ſuch enquiry. It ſhould ſeem, however, that this Seal was cut by ſome of the Stuart family, to do themſelves honour, and to record this particular fact; and as Sir James Worſley, anceſtor to Sir Richard, married Mary eldeſt daughter of Sir Nicolas Stuart of Hartley Maudit in Hampſhire, what can be more probable than that the valuable Ring I am now deſcribing deſcended to the family of the Worſleys by this alliance?

THE hiſtory and perſonages being ſo far aſcertained, it remains to be enquired, when and by whom this Seal was made. If it be ſuppoſed contemporary with the perſonage and coat armour I

have deſcribed, it cannot have a later date than the beginning of the 14th centuty; for Walter Stuart died in 1327, the very year of Edward the Third's acceſſion to the throne of England: and by whom ſhould this alliance and hiſtory be ſo properly recorded as by him who was the ſubject of it, or at leaſt by his immediate deſcendant? But it is objected, that the exquiſite workmanſhip of this Seal is irreconcileable with the barbarous and uncouth engravings of that æra. Although this may be generally true, yet the concluſion does not ſeem abſolutely to follow, there being proofs in every age of particular artiſts who far exceed the general ſtyle and powers of the age in which they lived.

IT will alſo be ſaid, that the ragged ſtaff here repreſented, and the addition of it to the Stuart arms, brings this device down to the time of Charles the Sixth, who became king of France in 1380.

BUT it muſt be conſidered on the other hand, that this is only a difference of about fifty years, and that the Seal is not neceſſarily of ſo late a date; for though the ragged ſtaff appears in Walter Stuart's hands, yet it makes no part of the coat armour on his ſhield. It may therefore be inferred, that the honourable addition, made by Charles the Sixth to Sir Alexander Stuart, was not for his own atchievement, but for that of Walter his anceſtor.

IF the workmanſhip of this Seal cannot be thought more ancient than the 16th century, how ſhould we account for the ſculptor's repreſenting this warrior in a dreſs which ſeems to have been ſo much more ancient, but did not correſpond with the faſhion of that age? For the complete mail armour, ſurcoat, and flat helmet, on this Seal, bear the moſt exact reſemblance to ſome of the figures which lie in the Temple church, which are indiſputably of the 13th century, as well as to the contemporary

French military figures repreſented by Montfaucon in his 2d vol. of the Monarchie Françoiſe. This form of the helmet ſeems to have commenced in the reign of Philip Auguſtus, and to have continued during the reign of St. Louis, and almoſt to the latter end of the 13th century. Philip earl of Boulogne, ſon to king Philip, born in 1200, is repreſented with an helmet of this kind: and Montfaucon particularly remarks on this figure, that the helmet is quite flat, *as all the helmets are repreſented during the time of St. Louis.* He repeats the ſame obſervation more than once, and has given ſeveral repreſentations of them in the figures of St. Louis, of Ferdinand the third king of Caſtile, of Peter de Dreux, Peter Courtenay, Amauri de Montfort, and Simon de Montfort, tom. ii. p. 163, 167, 168, all which are taken from the painted glaſs windows in the church of Notre Dame de Chalons. Beſides theſe figures, which might have been depicted ſince the time in which thoſe perſons lived, there are more authentic proofs of this form of the helmet in the Seal of Thibaut earl of Blois in 1212, p. 114; and on the monument of Hugh, Vidam de Chalons, who died 1279 (p. 185): and the monumental figures in our own churches will afford other inſtances of the ſame kind, which is the more remarkable, becauſe in the periods prior, as well as ſubſequent, to this æra, the helmets are repreſented either of a round or conical form, and ſometimes pointed at top. Such are the figures in the tapeſtry of Bayeux, and thoſe of Philip de Valois and Edward the Firſt, repreſented at the latter end of this volume of Montfaucon. Notwithſtanding the ſimilarity of theſe helmets to the figure on the Seal, they cannot be called coeval, becauſe Walter Stuart lived almoſt half a century later than St. Louis; but the ſculptor, chuſing this ancient form to the helmet, ſeems thereby to give a greater air of antiquity to the Seal than ſome perſons are diſpoſed to allow.

As

As Charles the Sixth was an ally of the Scots during this time, it is not impoſſible but that the Seal might have been cut in France, where the arts were more advanced. But if it was executed for a deſcendant of Walter Stuart, about the time of Henry the Seventh or Eighth, it will coincide with the reign of James the Third or Fourth of Scotland; though neither of thoſe princes ſeem likely to have recorded the valour and alliance of their anceſtor at ſuch a diſtance of time.

IF, upon further enquiry, the documents either of the Stuart or Worſley family can furniſh any hints towards explaining this device, I ſhall be happy in communicating them to this Society, and in the mean time ſhould be obliged to any of our learned members, if they would aſſiſt and improve my imperfect hints on this ſubject,

XVI. *An-*

XVI. *Conjectures on Sir* Richard Worſley's *Seal. By* John Charles Brooke, *Eſq; of the Heralds College, F. A. S. In a letter to the Dean of* Exeter.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, July 6, 1775.

REVEREND SIR,

AS you expreſſed a deſire at the laſt meeting of the Society to receive any information that would help to elucidate the device upon the curious Seal Ring belonging to Sir Richard Worſley, bart. which was then produced, I have ſent you the following conjectures upon the ſubject.

THERE can be no doubt but that you are right in your ingenious ſuppoſitions that the Ring came from the Stuarts to the Worſleys, and that the device alludes to the origin of the arms of that family.—As to the antiquity of the Ring, I muſt confeſs myſelf no judge of it; but muſt obſerve, that the ſculpture ſeems of much more modern date than the workmanſhip of the gold; and that in heraldry we ſeldom meet with lions ſo elegantly ſhaped as that which there appears, before the 16th century.

THE family of the Stuarts of Harteley-Mauduit in the county of Southampton are deſcended from a younger branch of an ancient family of that name, who have reſided for ſome centuries in the Iſle of Ely, as appears by their pedigree, which

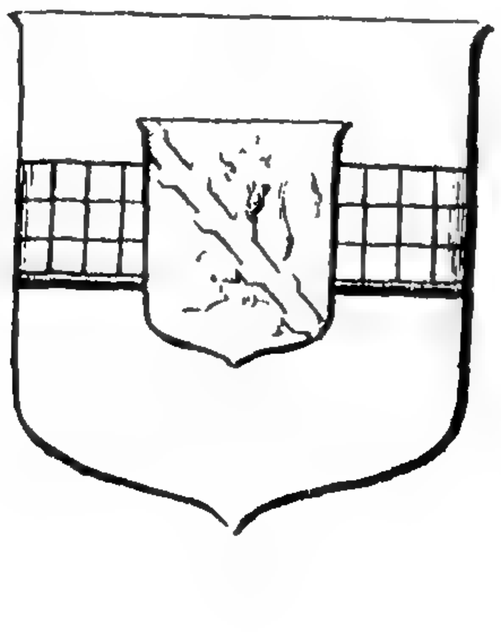
was

was entered by Henry St. George, Richmond-Herald, at his viſitation of the county of Cambridge, as deputy to William Camden, eſq; Clarenceux in ann. 1619, and in the ſame is the following note:

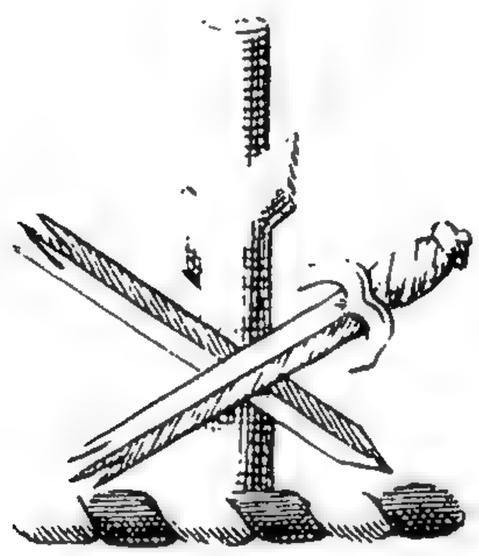
"Charles VI. king of France granted a patent to this Alex-
"ander of the augmentation of his coat, for ſervice done
"by Andrew Steward, his father, to the ſaid Charles,
"and to the king of Scots, and alſo to John the French
"king, grand-father to Charles."

IN a book in this office, in a large pedigree of the Stewarts of Cambridgeſhire, which deduces them regularly in a direct line from Banquo, thane of Lochabef in the time of Duncan, king of Scotland, we find the following:

"ALEXANDER STYWARD unicus filius Andree, quem Caro-
"lus Rex Francorū auratae militiae ſymbola donavit, unà
"cum hoc honore ex Armor. incremento, ut tam ipſe
"quam ſui poſteri in maiori Clypeo gentilitio aure ſuper
"Barram Scaccatam minorem Clypeum Argenteum cum
"Leone rapaci rubeo baculo aure nodoſo oppreſſum,
"amoris regie monumentum perpetuum deferrent, ſicut
"ex Charta Regia conceſſaria hic verbatim expreſſè
"apparet."



THE Arms given to this Alexander are the ſame as here repreſented, and the device on the Seal evidently alludes to this event. An armed Knight is repreſented as fighting with a lion, and having broken his ſword, which lies in fragments at his feet, has ſnatched up a rude club with which he is combating the beaſt. In alluſion to this, in ſome books the following creſt is given to the family, which before this ring was produced could never be accounted for, viz. a ſword broken in two, the pieces placed in ſaltire on a wreath, and ſurmounting a ragged ſtaff *erect*, Or; to ſhew the advantage the latter weapon was of in vanquiſhing and *debruiſing* the Lion, when the other had failed.



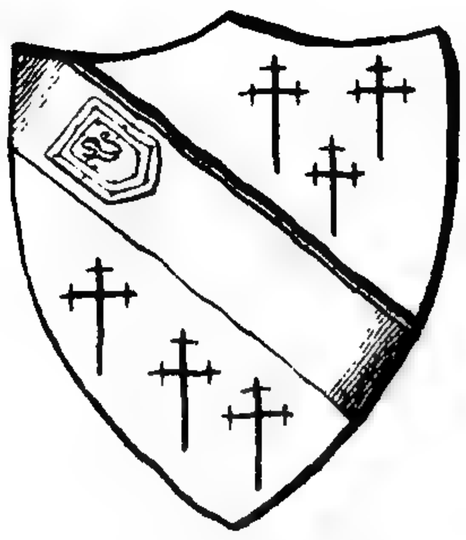
THE figure has on his arm a ſhield with the plain paternal arms of Stewart, a Feſs chequey; but in reward of this action an arm is engraved as iſſuing from the clouds, and preſenting him a ſhield with the ſame arms, and the augmentation added, which was given by Charles VI. king of France, in an eſcutcheon Argent, a Lion rampant Gules, debruiſed with a bend raguled, Or; which bend, by an accurate obſerver, may be diſcovered on the lion, though the minuteneſs of the ſhield hath rendered it very indiſtinct. This royal donation is elegantly and ſignificantly repreſented by bordering the maunch of the arm with the fleurs-de-lis of France.

THE

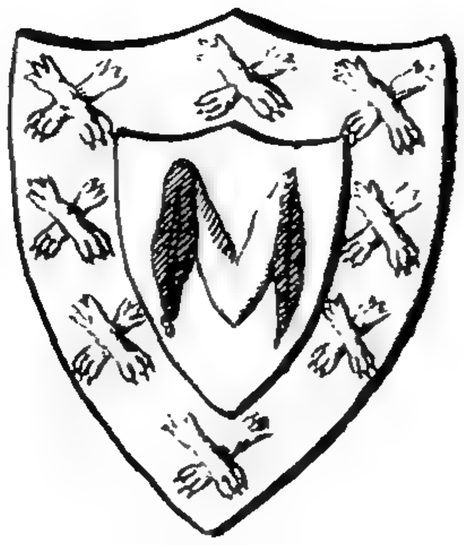
THE whole group are contained within the double treſſure fleury and counter-fleury of Scotland, which in ſome meaſure proves, that the Seal is of much more modern execution than the date of the royal augmentation. We find no mention of ſuch a charge in the abſtract of the French king's patent which has been quoted before; nor indeed at the time the event happened, which gave occaſion to the device, had the family any right to it. One of the authorities quoted before ſays, that the augmentation was granted to Alexander for the ſervices that *his father had done*, who was ſon of Alexander, great-grandfather of Robert Stewart, the firſt king of Scotland of that family; therefore lived prior to his acceſſion to the throne, and conſequently had no right to the royal treſſure. Niſbet informs us, that it was a diſtinction chiefly aſſumed by ſuch Scottiſh families as had married daughters of the blood-royal, ſo that the family having to expreſs this device in modern times, from their near connexion with royalty, might think themſelves intitled to add a treſſure round the ſeal by way of ornament, though not as part of the arms.

I DO not pretend to determine whether the device on the ring is allegorically deſigned, or that the combat here repreſented actually exiſted; the latter is not improbable, conſidering, that, at the time of the Cruſades, the ſoldiers were often ſent on marauding parties in the Aſiatic deſarts, and might meet with theſe fierce animals, of which we have traditions in the genealogical hiſtories of many of our ancient families. The creſt, which has been before deſcribed, rather makes for the latter, for though we might ſuppoſe that the Lion was deſigned to repreſent the Engliſh nation (no regard being had to the tinctures of the arms), and that he was thus combated to ſhew the aſſiſtance that the party might afford to John, and Charles the

Beloved, kings of France, in their wars with Edward III. yet the broken ſword and ſtaff, being uſed as a badge, where the Knight and Lion appeared not to explain the tale, ſeems to denote that they were uſed on ſome emergency. But be this as it may, we may venture to affirm that it was never deſigned for the Lion of Scotland, as was alledged. Debruiſing in Heraldry is generally looked upon as a badge of diſgrace. Thus ſeveral of our great families, who have been celebrated for their valiant exploits againſt the Scots, bore the Royal Lion of that country in their arms, diminiſhed in various forms. The noble houſe of Howard had an addition to their arms granted by king Henry VIII, becauſe Thomas earl of Surry commanded the army which overcame James IV. king of Scots at Flodden Field, viz. an eſcutcheon of the Royal arms of Scotland placed on the bend in their paternal arms, but the Lion dimidiated, and pierced through the mouth with an arrow. Sir Thomas Wharton, the firſt lord Wharton, anceſtor of the late duke of that name, had an augmentation granted to his arms of a bordure gold, charged with the legs of the Lion of Scotland eraſed and placed in ſaltire, and for one of his ſupporters the Scottiſh Lion Fretty, as in toils, alluding to the celebrated ambuſh contrived by him and Sir William Muſgrave, whereby with 300 men they put to flight the whole Scottiſh army conſiſting of 15,000 men. A family called Monhaut in Yorkſhire bore three bars gemells, and a Lion rampant Gules, ſaid to be aſſumed by an anceſtor who was concerned in taking William, king of Scots, priſoner temp. Henry II. and, accompanying the captive prince to Henry then at Faleiſe in Normandy, was rewarded by him with this honourable ſhield.



Howard.



Wharton.



Monhaut.

AFTER theſe inſtances can we ſuppoſe that the king of France, the ſovereigns of which country have ever been celebrated for their ſtrict affection to the Scottiſh nation, ſhould thus have diſgraced the beloved Signum of their kings by debruiſing it with a diſhonourable charge; eſpecially when there appears no reaſon for ſo doing, as the authority which I have before cited expreſsly ſays, that this honourable augmentation was given by Charles VI. to Alexander Stewart for the good ſervice done by his father to the ſaid Charles, the *king of Scots*, &c.?

THE arms given to the Stewarts of Harteley-Mauduit in all the Baronetages are wrong, which ſhews what little dependance is to be had on ſuch vague publications. In all the entries of this branch of the family in the Heralds office, whoſe records are of indubitable authority in theſe matters, their arms are the ſame as were given to Alexander Stewart by the French king, and as are repreſented on the Seal. Nor are the Stewarts of Harteley deſcended from the marriage of Walter Stewart with Margery Bruſe, Alexander their anceſtor being

couſin-german to Walter, as will appear by the ſketch of the pedigree which I ſend with this, and therefore could have no pretenſions to her coat. I muſt conclude with obſerving, that the Stewarts of the Iſle of Ely, who are the elder branch of the family, are yet exiſting in that neighbourhood, though in a low degree; that William Stewart of Ely, a younger ſon of the family, had a daughter Elizabeth, married to Robert Cromwell of Huntingdon, and mother of the celebrated Oliver, Lord Protector; and that the Stuarts pedigree, from Banquo Thane of Lochaber to Sir Nicholas Stuart of Harteley, bart. whoſe daughter married Sir James Worſley of Pilewell, is regugularly deduced by undeniable proofs in the regiſters of this office.

If theſe ſlight conjectures afford you or the Society any entertainment, it will give me pleaſure; and I ſhould have been happy to have inveſtigated the ſubject of the device "*ſicut ex* "*Charta Regia conceſſaria hic verbatim expreſſe apparet.*"

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble Servant,

JOHN CHARLES BROOKE, R. C.

Heralds College,
4th July, 1775.

STUART.

STUART.

Alexander Stuart, Seneſchall of Scotland

=

Walter Stuart, Seneſchal of Scotland

=

Alexander Stuart

=

John Styward, married . . . . . daughter and heir of . . . . . Bouthill

=

Walter Styward = Margery Bruſe, daughter of Robert, and ſiſter of David, kings of Scotland.

Robert Styward, the Firſt of this family that was king of Scotland, called the Hunter.

James Stuart died young.

Andrew Stewart youngeſt ſon.

=

Alexander Stewart, to whom Charles VI. king of France, gave an honourable addition to his arms, was anceſtor of the Stewarts of the Iſle of Ely, and of Harteley-Mauduit, Southant.

XVII. *A Diſſertation on a moſt valuable Gold Coin of* Edmund Crouchback, *Son of* Henry III. *By the Rev. Mr.* Pegge.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 20, 1773.

DEAR MR. NORRIS,

I AM extremely obliged to you for the drawing of lord Milton's *Pectorale* [*a*]; and in return I beg leave to preſent you with the following ſhort memoir, concerning a curious, and, in my opinion, an almoſt ineſtimable, Coin of Edmund Crouchback.

THERE will be no occaſion for me to deſcant in *many* words upon the *Seal* of Edmund ſurnamed Crouchback, engraved in Speed [*b*], ſince that muſt be already well known, with all the particulars and circumſtances relative to it. However, as the Seal has ſome connexion with the ſeries of our Engliſh gold coins, as will appear in the ſequel, I ſhall venture to trouble you with a few curſory remarks upon it.

MR. SPEED calls it a *Seal*; and we muſt believe he had ſeen it in that ſhape in the Cotton Library. Edmund there ſits *à la ſoverein*, on a throne ſufficiently reſembling thoſe of his

[*a*] See Vol. III. pl. xix. p. 357.

[*b*] Speed's Hiſtory, p. 631.

father

father and uncle Richard earl of Cornwall, both which may be ſeen in Speed and Sandford; which laſt has alſo, and I preſume from Speed, cauſed the obverſe of this Seal of Edmund's to be engraved in his Genealogical Hiſtory [*c*] as ſuch.

BUT what enſures it, infallibly, to the claſs of Seals is, the Golden *Bulla*, of exactly the ſame type, engraved by the Society of Antiquaries in plate xliii. N° III. It then belonged to Edward earl of Oxford, and was afterwards purchaſed by Mr. Weſt; and, as this Bulla or Seal does not now appear in the Cotton Library, it was probably thence purloined, and ſold to the earl. Be this as it may, it weighed eight penny-weights, and, as appeared by the ſilken ſtrings paſſing through it, had been appendant to an inſtrument, and, as is ſaid in the Society's print, to a bull of Pope Alexander IV, to confirm to prince Edmund the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia. But this, Sir, you will deem highly improbable; for why a Seal of this titular king, prince Edmund, ſhould be annexed to a bull of the Pope's, even though it related to the kingdom he was to be inveſted with, is perfectly inconceivable to me, the *Bullae* hanging at the papal inſtruments of that name being of a nature widely different from this. I ſhould therefore rather ſuppoſe it had belonged to ſome inſtrument of king Edmund, and I am fully perſuaded that Prince Edmund had a ſeal of this type, for the reaſons given above.

BUT, however ſtrange it may appear, this Seal was undoubtedly a coin or medal too: for the late Thomas Barrett, eſq; of Lee, in the county of Kent, had a gold medal of Edmund, which agreed exactly with theſe exhibits of the ſeal, both in the

[*c*] Sandford's Genealogical Hiſtory, p. 103.

obverſe

obverſe and reverſe; and this is at preſent in the poſſeſſion of my reſpectable friend his ſon. This medal, which I have often both ſeen and handled, weighs fifteeen penny-weights, which juſt anſwers to ſixteen Florens, the Floren being firſt coined A. 1252, at ſixty grains [*d*]; and it is indiſputably a coin or medal, there being not the leaſt appearance of its having ever hung, as a bulla or ſeal, to any inſtrument whatſoever; a circumſtance which, when I examined the piece, I was particularly attentive to. In ſhort, Sir, as it is as clearly a coin, as it was a ſeal, we are obliged to conclude it was *both*; and that the punch or die, that ſerved for the purpoſe of ſtriking the ſeal, was uſed alſo for the coining of money.

THE next enquiry then muſt be, by whom this fine piece was coined? The ſtory of prince Edmund, ſo far as relates to this matter, and without entering minutely into the affair of the Pope's diſpoſal of the kingdom of Sicily, is this. In the year 1254, Innocent IV. offered our king Henry III. the kingdom of Sicily, for his ſecond ſon Edmund: the king accepted the offer, which unhappily involved him in great diſtreſs, by becoming a principal ſource of the barons wars. Prince Edmund, thus collated by the Pope, took the ſtyle and title of king of Sicily, and it ſeems had the ſame title put both upon his ſeal and money. Upon Innocent's death, Alexander IV. obtained the Papal chair; and he, by a ring, inveſted prince Edmund, A. 1255, with his kingdom: but the earl of Leiceſter at length, A. 1265, renounced, in the king's and prince's name, all manner of claim and pretenſion to that crown. This is, in brief, the whole of the affair. And upon the face of the matter, as the ſeal has ſo much the air of an Engliſh ſeal of the times, and was probably both made and uſed in England by

[*d*] Steph. Mart. Leake, p. 44.

prince

prince Edmund himſelf; one as all the reaſon in the world to imagine, that the coin was ſtruck by him too, eſpecially if, as the preſumption is, it was coined with the ſame die. But Sandford tells us, that Pope Alexander "cauſed, in honour "of Edmund, certain pieces of gold to be ſtamped with this "inſcription, *Aimundus rex Siciliae* [*e*]," whence perhaps it may be conjectured, that this piece of Mr. Barrett's may poſſibly be one of thoſe coined by the Pope. I know not on what authority Sandford ſays this, and yet I have a ſlight remembrance of having read it elſewhere; but, ſuppoſing it to be true, that the Pope cauſed ſome gold pieces to be ſtruck, Mr. Barrett's coin can never be one of them, as it ſo perfectly reſembles the ſeal, and was probably coined with the ſame die, and conſequently muſt have been minted in England, where Edmund's ſeal was apparently made. Beſides, the letters of the ſeal and coin are the Engliſh ones of the time, as every body muſt allow, who will be at the pains to compare them with thoſe on the ſeals of that age in Sandford: the form and faſhion of the obverſes accord likewiſe with that author's ſeals. Whence the concluſion is, that the piece was coined here in England in the name and by the authority of Prince Edmund.

IF it be aſked, whether this coin ought to have a place in the Engliſh ſeries or not? I anſwer, the probability is, that it was ſtruck by the authority of an Engliſh prince, Edmund, ſon of king Henry III. and he certainly has as good a title to have any coins or medals that bear his name taken notice of by an Engliſh medaliſt, as either Robert Curtois duke of Normandy, ſon of William the Conqueror, or Euſtace earl of Bologne, ſon of king Stephen. Let us only attend to the reverſe of the coin, *Eadmundus Natus Regis Angliae illuſtris*, where, by calling himſelf *the king of England's ſon*, he aſſerts a privilege exactly

[*e*] Sandford, p. 105.

parallel to that of Euſtace. But what approaches neareſt to the matter in hand, is the caſe of Edward the Black Prince; whoſe gold coins, though ſtruck in another country, and by an authority ſeparate and independant of his father, as we may ſuppoſe this of Edmund to have been, have a choice place in our cabinets, and are ſought after by our Antiquaries with the utmoſt eagerneſs and ſollicitude.

BUT put the caſe for once, that the piece was coined by his Holineſs, it was ſtill done under the authority of prince Edmund, king of Sicily, whoſe name it bears, and muſt have been intended to run and be received here as money. Whence it follows, that it ought in reaſon to be deemed a part or parcel of the Engliſh ſeries, as the coins of King Henry VIII, ſtruck by the archbiſhops of York, or the biſhops of Durham, are.

THE reſult, Sir, is, that we have here a gold coin or medal of the Engliſh ſeries minted many years before the Vulgar Aera, when our gold is ſuppoſed to have been firſt made; and even ſomewhat before 41 Henry III, or 1257, when this king, the father of prince Edmund, iſſued his gold pennies [*f*]; for our piece was in all probability coined in the year 1254, or 1255 at fartheſt, when the prince received the inveſtiture of this kingdom. It conſequently ſerves very finely to fill up that gap in our gold cabinets which intervenes between the reign of William the Conqueror [*g*] andthe 41 of king Henry III.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

Whittington, 8 March, 1773.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

[*f*] Mr. Snelling's introduction to View of Gold Coinsof England.
[*g*] Gent. Mag. 1757. p. 499.

XVIII. *An account of the Events produced in* England *by the Grant of the Kingdom of* Sicily *to Prince* Edmund, *Second Son of King* Henry *the Third. With ſome Remarks upon the Seal of that Prince.*

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 22, 1776.

To GUSTAVUS BRANDER, Eſq.

Dear Sir,

HAVING purchaſed the curious Gold Seal of Prince Edmund, ſecond ſon of King Henry the Third, as king of Sicily [*a*], in compliance with your requeſt, I have made ſome enquiry into the events produced in England by the grant of the kingdom of Sicily to that prince, and ſhall ſubmit to you ſome remarks upon the Seal itſelf; which I deſire you will be pleaſed to lay before the Society of Antiquaries.

The grant of the kingdom of Sicily by Pope Innocent the Fourth to Prince Edmund, will be found upon enquiry to

[*a*] This Seal is mentioned by Speed and Sandford; was formerly in the collection of Edward earl of Oxford; and afterward in that of James Weſt, eſq. It weighs eight penny-weights.

have produced the greateſt events in their conſequences, that ever appeared in the annals of England. Amongſt others, the aſſociation of the barons againſt king Henry the Third; the appointing conſervators of the peace in the ſeveral counties; and the ſettling the democratical part of our conſtitution upon a permanent baſis, by Simon Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, whilſt the king was his priſoner.

As the king's wars with his barons have not been generally attributed to his connections with Sicily, and foreign hiſtorians being almoſt ſilent upon this head [*b*], I flatter myſelf that an account of this tranſaction may be acceptable to the Society.

THE emperor Frederick, who died in 1250, by his will ſhared his kingdoms amongſt his children. He gave the Iſle of Sicily to his ſon Henry, whom he had by his third wife Iſabella of England, ſiſter to king Henry the Third. But the emperor Conrade the Fourth, his ſucceſſor, being at war with Pope Innocent the Fourth, that Pontiff attempted to ſeize upon Sicily: and, apprehending that this attempt might be attended with great expence, he endeavoured to perſuade Richard earl of Cornwall, third brother to king Henry the Third, to accept of the crown of Sicily; flattering himſelf, that the earl's immenſe wealth would enable him to ſupport his military operations: but Richard, being a prince of great oeconomy, declined the offer. The Pope afterwards offered the crown of the Two Sicilies to king Henry the Third, who refuſed the preſent; being unwilling to deprive his nephew Henry of his kingdom. However, Conrade, having put his brother Henry to death, and

[*b*] Rapin ſays, "Among the many hiſtorians of Naples and Sicily whom "I have read, I find but one that mentions, en paſſant, the grant made by the "Pope to a ſon of the king of England; and the author is miſtaken in the name "of the prince."

made

made himſelf maſter of Sicily, was in the year 1253 poiſoned, as is ſuppoſed, by his baſtard-brother Manfred, who uſurped the throne of that kingdom. Hereupon Pope Innocent the IVth, improving the opportunity, made himſelf maſter of Naples; but Conradine, the ſon of the late emperor, continuing the war, the Pope found himſelf unable to maintain the army which he had ſent to Naples. In this exigency he applied once more to the king of England, and offered him the crown of Sicily for his ſecond ſon Edmund; obſerving, that, as his nephew Henry was dead, there was no further room for his ſcruples.

HENRY was weak enough to accept the offer, and not only ſent the Pope all the money which he could borrow or extort from his ſubjects, but was alſo ſo indiſcreet, as to engage for the payment of all the ſums which the Pope might borrow for the placing Prince Edmund upon the throne of Sicily. The Pope, the better to carry on his deſigns, and to amuſe and pleaſe the king, who was become exceedingly fond of this Sicilian connection, ſent over into England Albert his notary, with inſtructions to grant the kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmund and his heirs [*c*].

THE Pontiff, finding that Henry was ſo compleatly fallen into his ſnare, ſpared not the king's purſe, and drew away his money ſo faſt, that his ordinary revenue could not poſſibly anſwer the expence. This put him upon various methods of obtaining money from his people, which rendered him ex-

[*c*] The notary executed his inſtructions by an Act dated Prid. Non. March, 1254; and, upon the 2d of the ides of May following, his Holineſs iſſued two Bulls; the one empowering the archbiſhop of Canterbury to borrow money for the ſervice of Sicily; and the other confirming the notary's grant of the kingdom to Prince Edmund. Rymer's Feed. vol. I. p. 502. 512.

ceedingly

ceedingly odious to them; but he was ſo infatuated with the hopes of acquiring a kingdom for his ſon, that he diſregarded their complaints. Notwithſtanding Pope Innocent was very ſenſible that it was out of the king's power to perform his engagements, he aſſiſted him with his apoſtolical authority in borrowing and ſqueezing money from the clergy as well as from the laity; and when Henry was unable to ſatisfy his demands, the Pope threatened to give the crown of Sicily to ſome other prince [*d*]; but, his forces being defeated by thoſe of Manfred between Troya and Foggia in the year 1254, he ſoon after died, as it is ſaid, of vexation. His ſucceſſor Alexander the Fourth, at a great expence, carried on the war againſt Manfred, who, having defeated the forces of his Holineſs near Nocera, was crowned king of the Two Sicilies.

POPE Alexander practiſed the ſame arts as his predeceſſor upon the king of England, who, being ignorant of what had happened in Italy, was made the dupe of this deſigning Pontiff. And he, the better to conceal his intended impoſitions upon Henry, ſent the biſhop of Bononia to London, with a bull, confirming his predeceſſor's grant of the kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmund, upon the following conditions [*e*], viz.

THAT Edmund ſhould perform liege homage to the Pope.

THAT Sicily ſhould be no longer divided; but that the two parts ſhould be under the government of one and the ſame king.

THAT the king ſhould make the Pope every year an acknowledgement of two thouſand ounces of *pure gold.*

[*d*] Rymer's Fœd. vol. I. p. 535.

[*e*] The original inſtrument is ſtill extant in the Cottonian Libray, Cleopatra E. I. and is printed by Rymer in the Fœdera, vol. I. p. 893. The title is in theſe words, "Conditiones ſub quibus regnum Siciliae conceditur Edmundo filio "Henrici regis."

THAT

THAT he ſhould ſend three hundred horſe for three months to ſerve the church in caſe of need.

THAT the churches of Sicily ſhould enjoy their liberties, and that the Pope ſhould quietly poſſeſs his rights to thoſe churches.

THAT Edmund and his ſucceſſors, when they paid their homage, ſhould ſwear that they ſhould never conſent to be choſen emperors, on pain of loſing their crown, and being excommunicated.

THAT the church ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the Duchy of Benevento.

THAT Edmund, when he came to the age of fifteen, ſhould perform his homage in perſon; and until then the king his father ſhould pay it for him. (The form of the homage is inſerted in the inſtrument.)

THAT it ſhould be at the Pope's choice, whether he would have homage paid him by Edmund and his ſucceſſors in perſon or by proxy. And,

THAT Edmund ſhould confirm and maintain the grants made by his predeceſſors to the family of *Hoemburch*.

BESIDES the above conditions, there were many other conventions and inſtruments for putting Edmund into poſſeſſion of the kingdom; ſeveral of which may be found in the Foedera; and many more are extant upon the Patent, Clauſe, and Charter Rolls.

ABOUT the end of October, 1255, the ceremony of inveſtiture was performed at London by the biſhop of Bononia, in the preſence of the king and a numerous aſſembly of great men, by the ſymbol of a ring which the Pope had ſent for that purpoſe. The poor king wept for joy at this ceremony, and ſent the Pope immediately afterwards fifty thouſand marks,

and

and bound himſelf to ſend two hundred thouſand more within a ſtated time; upon which account, the Pope granted the king the tenths of the revenues of the clergy.

ALTHOUGH the king's flatterers congratulated him upon this augmentation of glory, there were wiſer people who were grieved to ſee their ſovereign ſo great a dupe to the Pope; and perceived that all the ready-money in the kingdom was not ſufficient to bring about the undertaking in which he was embarked. In ſhort, this Sicilian connection was become exceedingly unpopular, and the buſineſs grew more and more alarming. However, Henry being preſſed by the Pope, was obliged to call a Parliament, for ſupplies [*f*]; and he, to avoid oppoſition, omitted ſending writs to the refractory barons. In this parliament, the king introduced his ſon cloathed in the Apulian habit, and made a ſpeech, wherein he demanded large ſupplies for placing him upon the throne of Sicily: but the barons, being ſenſible of the ridiculous cheat impoſed by the Pope, determined not to laviſh the treaſure of the kingdom upon ſuch a chimerical project, abſolutely refuſed to comply with the king's demands, and aſſigned the following reaſons for their refuſal:

1. THE great diſtance of that kingdom from England.

2. THE difficulties of ſecuring a free paſſage through the territories of powers at enmity with the king of England, and perhaps favourers of his adverſary.

3. MANFRED's being in poſſeſſion of Labour [*g*] (*Laboris*) and other places through which the communication between the ſeveral parts of the kingdom is uſually carried on.

[*f*] This Parliament met in the chapter-houſe at Weſtminſter on Friday before Midlent Sunday, A. D. 1256. The writ of ſummons is preſerved in the Annals of Burton, p. 371. and is eight years before the firſt given by Sir William Dugdale.

[*g*] Terra di Lavora.

4 THE

4. THE ſtrength of the prince (Manfred) in the kingdom.

5. THE alliance actually ſubſiſting between that prince, the natives of Apulia, and the inhabitants of the adjacent countries.

6. MANFRED's being in poſſeſſion of moſt of the cities, caſtles, and fortreſſes, of the kingdom.

7. THE great riches which that prince daily received from thence.

8. THE immenſe expence already incurred by the king without any advantages gained in return.

9. THE exceſſive ſums requiſite for diſcharging the debts then due, as alſo for defraying the expences of prince Edmund's journey, and ſettling him in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom; all which would amount to more money than the whole kingdom of England could produce.

10. THE deſtruction and impoveriſhment of England, which muſt be the conſequence of the ſeveral and frequent iters or circuits of the juſtices, and of a variety of extortions, ſeizures, and other oppreſſions.

11. THE ſcantineſs of the king's and his ſon's treaſure, and the poverty of the Engliſh as well clergy as laity.

12. THE troubles prevailing in Gaſcony, Ireland, and Scotland.

13. THE hoſtile invaſion of England by the Welch, in order to drive out the natives by force of arms.

14. THE diminution of the power of England in reſpect to its counſellors, wealth, and people, which the departure of the earl of Cornwall muſt occaſion.

15. THE encouragement it would give to the king of France, and other neighbouring princes, but more eſpecially to ſuch as formerly poſſeſſed lands in England, to attack that kingdom, ſo ſoon as the affairs of Sicily had drained it of men, counſellors, arms, and money.

16. THE reſolution they had taken, not only to refuſe giving their aſſent to the king's taking upon himſelf the burthen of this buſineſs, leſt it ſhould be ſurmiſed that they conſented to his being betrayed or delivered into the hands of his enemies; but totally to decline being concerned in the buſineſs aforeſaid jointly with the king; and that as well for the before-mentioned reaſons, as on account of the immoderate and uncertain expence wherewith it muſt be attended, and which could not be raiſed.

LASTLY, The difficulty and heavy terms required in caſe the buſineſs ſhould be undertaken, and which might occaſion the king's loſs of his right to that kingdom, after infinite trouble and expence in order to obtain it.

IN this extremity the King and the Pope united in oppreſſing the people; the king iſſued a proclamation commanding all that were worth 15*l.* *per annum* in land to take the order of knighthood, or to pay a certain ſum [*g*]: he alſo took a tallage of 500 marks from the citizens of London, and his Holineſs ſent Ruſtand his legate into England to extort money, for which purpoſe he ſummoned an aſſembly of the biſhops and abbots, whom he acquanted with the Pope's and the King's pleaſure. The demands of the legate were ſo exorbitant, that they were received by the aſſembly with the greateſt ſurprize and indignation. The biſhop of Worceſter declared roundly, that he would loſe his life rather than comply. The biſhop of London ſaid, that if the mitre was taken off his head, he would clap on a helmet in its place. The legate was no leſs violent; and, in the end, the biſhops

[*g*] In the month of October the king amerced every Sheriff in England 5 marks, for omitting to collect the knighthood-money as directed by his proclamation, M. Paris, p. 854. This knighthood-money was often exacted by our kings, and was not abrogated till 1 b Car I.

and

and abbots, being threatened with excommunication, were obliged to ſubmit. It ſeems, however, that ſome of the prelates did not comply with the Pope's demands; for, on the 10th of the kalends of October, 1256, he iſſued a bull, whereby he excommunicated all the prelates who had not paid their tenths [*b*]. Nor did his Holineſs ſtop here; for he borrowed, from ſeveral Italian merchants, in king Henry's name, 135,540 marks; and, to diſcharge theſe debts, he cauſed obligatory notes to be drawn upon the biſhops and abbots in England, which they at firſt refuſed to pay, but, after ſeveral ſtruggles, they agreed to repay theſe ſums; and by a bull, dated the 5th of the kalends of October, 1256, he ordered a ſubſidy to be levied upon the clergy of Scotland for the payment of the debt contracted by king Henry for the affairs of Sicily [*i*].

UPON the 20th of the Nones of October, the Pope iſſued a Bull, allowing the king ſix months time for the payment of the debt to him; and ordered the king to ſend an army into Sicily upon pain of excommunication and interdict [*k*]. In ſhort, the demands of the Pope were inſatiable, and he preſſed the king continually to ſend him money and troops to Italy; both of which the Parliament, convened for that purpoſe, abſolutely refuſed [*l*]; and returned for anſwer to the king's demand, that he had unadviſedly accepted the kingdom of Sicily from the Pope without the counſel of his nobles, deſpiſing their deliberation and wiſdom; that he ought to have been inſtructed by the example of his brother, who

[*b*] Rymer's Fœd. vol. I. p. 607.

[*i*] Ibid. p. 608. On the 15th of February, 1256, the king prohibited all his Eccleſiaſtical ſubjects from going to Rome before they had taken an oath that they would not ſolicit againſt the king in the affairs of Sicily.

[*k*] Rymer's Fœd. vol. I. p. 611.

[*l*] This parliament met at London 1258, and ſat till the Sunday after Aſcenſion-day, when it was adjourned to Oxford.

had rejected the offer; that many difficulties would attend the conqueſt of a country at ſo great a diſtance from England; that the ſincerity of the Pope was much to be doubted; that the Apulians were a moſt treacherous people, who poiſoned their relations; and concluded by declaring, that they neither could nor would longer bear with ſuch extortions and oppreſſions. At length the king adjourned the Parliament to Oxford; and agreed, that the government ſhould be reformed and put into the hands of twenty-four commiſſioners, who formed the ſix famous articles, called the Proviſions or Statutes of Oxford. The barons, before they broke up, agreed upon an oath of aſſociation, whereby they obliged themſelves to maintain theſe proviſions with their lives and fortunes; and the city of London ſoon afterwards entered into the aſſociation. The king, being deprived of great part of his power by theſe proviſions, was abſolved by Pope Urban the Fourth from his oath which he had taken to obſerve theſe Statutes [*m*]; whereupon he declared to the Parliament at London, that he would not be longer bound by them. He took poſſeſſion of the Tower, and diſmiſſed by proclamation all the officers who had been appointed by the twenty-four commiſſioners, and nominated others in their room. The barons, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts for an accommodation, had recourſe to arms. The earl of Leiceſter, who was at the head of the confederates, having taken the king priſoner at the battle of Lewes, obliged him to iſſue ſuch mandates as he thought proper [*n*]. All the officers of the crown and of the houſehold were named by the earl; and the whole authority, as well as arms,

[*m*] Vide Orig. in Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatra E. I.

[*n*] About this time Pope Urban the Fourth appointed for his legate in England, Guido, Cardinal of St. Sabine, who, being arrived at Paris, was menaced with

arms, of the ſtate, were lodged in his hands. He inſtituted in each county officers, to whom were given the title of conſervators of the peace, and inveſted them with new and arbitrary powers [*o*]. In the body of each commiſſion appointing the conſervators of the peace, there was a precept to every of them to ſend four knights of each county, to be choſen by the aſſent of that county, *for the whole county* to meet the king at London upon the Octaves of the Holy Trinity then next enſuing. Theſe commiſſions bear date the 4th of June, 48 Henry III. A. D. 1258. The Parliament met acccordingly, and approved of the new plan of government formed by the barons.

Leicester, being in the zenith of his power, cauſed writs to be iſſued in the king's name, for a new Parliament to meet at London on the Octaves of St. Hilary. To this Parliament only twenty-three of the temporal barons which were of his party, and a great number of Eccleſiaſtics, who were devoted to his intereſt, were ſummoned [*p*]; and, the better to encreaſe and turn to advantage his popularity, he cauſed general writs to be ſent to the ſheriff of each county, to return two Knights for each ſhire, and for each borough two Burgeſſes, to ſit in Parliament.

It has been aſſerted by Dr. Brady, Mr. Hume, Mr. Whitaker, and others, that this was the firſt time that the cities and boroughs ſent deputies to repreſent them in Parliament; which

with death by Leiceſter if he ſet his foot within the kingdom: however, the legate advanced as far as Bologne, where he manifeſted his reſentment againſt the Earl and his adherents; but, not thinking it ſafe to truſt his perſon in England, he returned to Rome, where he was ſoon after elected Pope by the name of Clement the Fourth.

[*o*] One of theſe commiſſions is printed in Brady's Appendix, vol. I. N° 210.

[*p*] Their names appear in Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 1. and

opinions

opinions have been controverted by Mr. Petit, Mr. Tyrrel, Mr. Hody, and the late lord Lyttelton. But, without entering into this conteſt, it may be remarked, that, ſince the time of the earl of Leiceſter's adminiſtration, the right of the Citizens and Burgeſſes to ſit in Parliament hath never been queſtioned; although the Commons were not regularly ſummoned to Parliament for many years afterwards.

IT may not be improper to obſerve, that Pope Urban the Fourth, by his Bull dated 5 kal. Aug. 1263, revoked the Grant of Sicily to prince Edmund; and his ſucceſſor, Pope Clement the Fourth, granted the ſame to Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis king of France. Upon the 6th of June, 1265, the king, whilſt he was in Leiceſter's power, iſſued a commiſſion to ſeveral perſons therein named, to renounce the kingdom of Sicily in the name and on the behalf of him and his ſon Edmund [*q*]; and Leiceſter afterwards cauſed that renunciation to be notified to the Pope by a letter from the king. Indeed, that earl was obliged in honour to take theſe ſteps, as he and ſeveral of his adherents had bound themſelves by an oath not to make peace with the king until he had renounced his pretenſions to the kingdom of Sicily. But prince Edmund had ample amends for the loſs of that kingdom; for, upon the 4th of Auguſt, 1265, his brother Prince Edward, having defeated Leiceſter and his adherents at the battle of Eveſham, the immenſe eſtates of that earl, together with thoſe of Robert Ferrers, earl of Derby, John of Monmouth, and others, were given to prince Edmund, who was created earl of Lancaſter, Leiceſter, Derby, and Campaigne. Theſe vaſt poſſeſſions laid the foundation of the future greatneſs of the Houſe of Lancaſter; the power and influence of which increaſed to ſuch a height, that Henry of Bolingbrook, being

[*q*] Rymer, vol. I. p. 815.

too

too powerful for a ſubject, depoſed his couſin-german king Richard II, and mounted the throne of this kingdom. And thus, in the perſon of prince Edmund, were originally founded the great contentions which long ſubſiſted between the two Houſes of York and Lancaſter.

With reſpect to the Seal of prince Edmund as king of Sicily, I find, that upon the 8th of the kalends of June, 1254, Pope Innocent the Fourth iſſued his Bull, authorizing this prince to fabricate a Royal Seal for the affairs of the kingdom of Sicily [*r*]. Edmund, in his letter to the Sicilians concerning his reception, ſeems to allude to a particular Seal which was known to them. The letter is printed in the Foedera [*s*], and concludes in theſe words, "In cujus rei "teſtimonium preſentem literam Aurea Bulla nostra fe- "cimus conſignari. Dat. apud Windeſ. 13 kal. April. "A. D. 1261."

[*r*] *De Magno Sigillo fabricando pro Regno Siciliae.*

"Innocentius Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, cariſſimo in Chriſto filio "Regi Angliae illuſtri, ſalutem & apoſtolicam benedictionem. Ut eo ſimus, "quod tibi ſit cordi, negotium quod in perſona cariſſimi in Chriſto filii noſtri "Edmundi, Regis Sicilie illuſtris, natu tui, aſſumpſiſſe dinoſceris, certiores quod "idem rex, aſſumptae dignitatis faſtigio, reddiderit de tuo bene placito ſe inſignem, "deſideramus & volumus regalem magnificentiam attente rogantes, quatinus pro- "tinus jubeas, quod idem rex ſtatim *ſigillum regium faciens fabricari*, nobis "infra Feſtum Beati Michaelis proxmo venturum, quod aſſumpto negotio ex- "preſſe conſentit, ſignificet ſuis patentibus litteris regiis bulla aurea communitis, "tuque ſimiliter infra eundem terminum ſuper hoc, & quod id de tua voluntate "procedit mittas nobis tuas patentes litteras in quibus nomines ipſum regem. "Dat. Aſiſii octavo kal. Junii Pontificatus noſtri anno undecimo."

Vide Rymer Foed. vol. I. p. 513.

[*s*] Vol. I. p. 720.

IT was cuſtomary for princes to make uſe of Seals of Gold upon extraordinary occaſions; ſeveral of which are now remaining in the Chapter-houſe at Weſtminſter [*t*]. Some of theſe are of ſolid gold perforated with holes to admit the ſtrings or labels by which they are appendant; and ſome, like the preſent, are compoſed of two lamina of gold laid upon wax, and cloſed on the edge, ſo as to appear like a piece of ſolid metal.

UPON the obverſe of this Seal, the prince is ſeated upon a throne, holding a ſceptre in his right hand, and in his left an orb ſurmounted by a croſs; the legend,

"Eadmundus Dei gratia Sicilie Rex."

UPON the reverſe is a ſhield charged with the arms of England, and the following legend,

"Eadmundus natus Regis Anglie illuſtris."

IT may at firſt ſight ſeem ſingular, that Prince Edmund ſhould aſſume the royal arms of England, without any mark of cadency thereon, in the life-time of his father; but, when it is conſidered, that this was a royal Seal fabricated for him as ſovereign of a kingdom wherein his father had no juriſdiction, the propriety of omitting the label will be obvious; which mark of diſtinction he obſerved when he ſealed as a ſubject of England. There are in the duchy office, and in the college of arms, ſeveral charters of this prince as earl of Lancaſter, Leiceſter, Derby, and lord of Monmouth. I have alſo a grant of prince Edmund in my collection, to which is appendant a Seal, having the following legend, "Edmundus Filius Regis "Anglie Dñs Monemute." The Seals appendant to the charters above alluded to are of green wax, each having an Eſcutcheon

[*t*] Several of theſe Seals are of exquiſite workmanſhip. Some of them are engraved in the Fœdera.

of the Arms of England, with a label of three points. It was not until about this period of time that this kind of Heraldic diſtinction was uſed.

THERE is in the poſſeſſion of Thomas Barrett of Canterbury, Eſq. a piece of gold [*u*] weighing fourteen pennyweights and twenty-two grains, impreſſed from the matrix of, or caſt from, my Seal, which ſeems by the form of the letters upon it, as well as from the workmanſhip, to have been made in England.

AN ingenious member of this Society [*w*] ſuppoſes Mr. Barrett's piece to have been a coin ſtruck by the authority of prince Edmund, and that the ſame ought to be placed in the ſeries of our Engliſh gold Coins, and muſt have been intended to have been current here as his money, and ſerves to fill up that gap in our gold cabinets which intervenes between the reign of William the Conqueror, and the 41ſt of king Henry the Third. But, with all poſſible deference to his judgement, I beg leave to differ with him in opinion upon this occaſion, for the following reaſons:

1. BECAUSE I do not find the leaſt mention of ſuch a coin in any of our Hiſtorians.

2. BECAUSE I cannot ſuppoſe that Henry would have wantonly increaſed the murmurs and complaints of his people, by permitting his ſon to coin money as king of Sicily, and allow

[*u*] This piece hath been exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, and my friend the Reverend Mr. Beauvoir of Canterbury informs me by letter, "that, "by a creaſe on one part of the edge, it ſeems as if it had been joined together: "it doth not ring, but ſounds as if hollow."

[*w*] The Reverend Mr. Pegge. See his Diſſertation read before the Society, May 20, 1773.

the ſame to be current in this kingdom. Such a ſtep would have produced no other effect, than that of rendering him more odious to his ſubjects.

3. BECAUSE there would be an obvious impropriety in imagining that ſuch pieces could be ſtruck for the payment of the annuity or fee farm to the Pope; that rent charge by the ſtipulation abovementioned being two thouſand ounces of pure gold or bullion without allay. So that the expence of coining this tribute was unneceſſary; eſpecially when it is conſidered, that the ſtamping of bullion gives it no additional value in a foreign country.

4. BECAUSE it is not probable that theſe pieces were ſtruck in England for the payment of the Pope's army in Sicily, as a piece of Standard gold coin, weighing fourteen pennyweights twenty-two grains, would (in the purchaſe of neceſſaries for an army) have been equal to near forty pounds of our preſent money, and therefore a moment's reflection will evince, that a piece of coin of ſo great a value would have been intirely uſeleſs for ſuch a purpoſe. And,

5. BECAUSE the Seals of ſolid gold which I have ſeen appear to have been ſtruck from the matrixes in the ſame manner as Coins are now impreſſed, and the holes through which the ſtrings or labels paſs, affixing them to the inſtruments, ſeem to have been perforated after the impreſſions were made upon them.

THEREFORE, in whatever point of view I conſider Mr. Barrett's piece, I cannot ſuppoſe it to have been a coin. Upon the whole, I believe Mr. Barrett's piece either to have been a caſt from my Seal, or that it was intended for a Seal which was

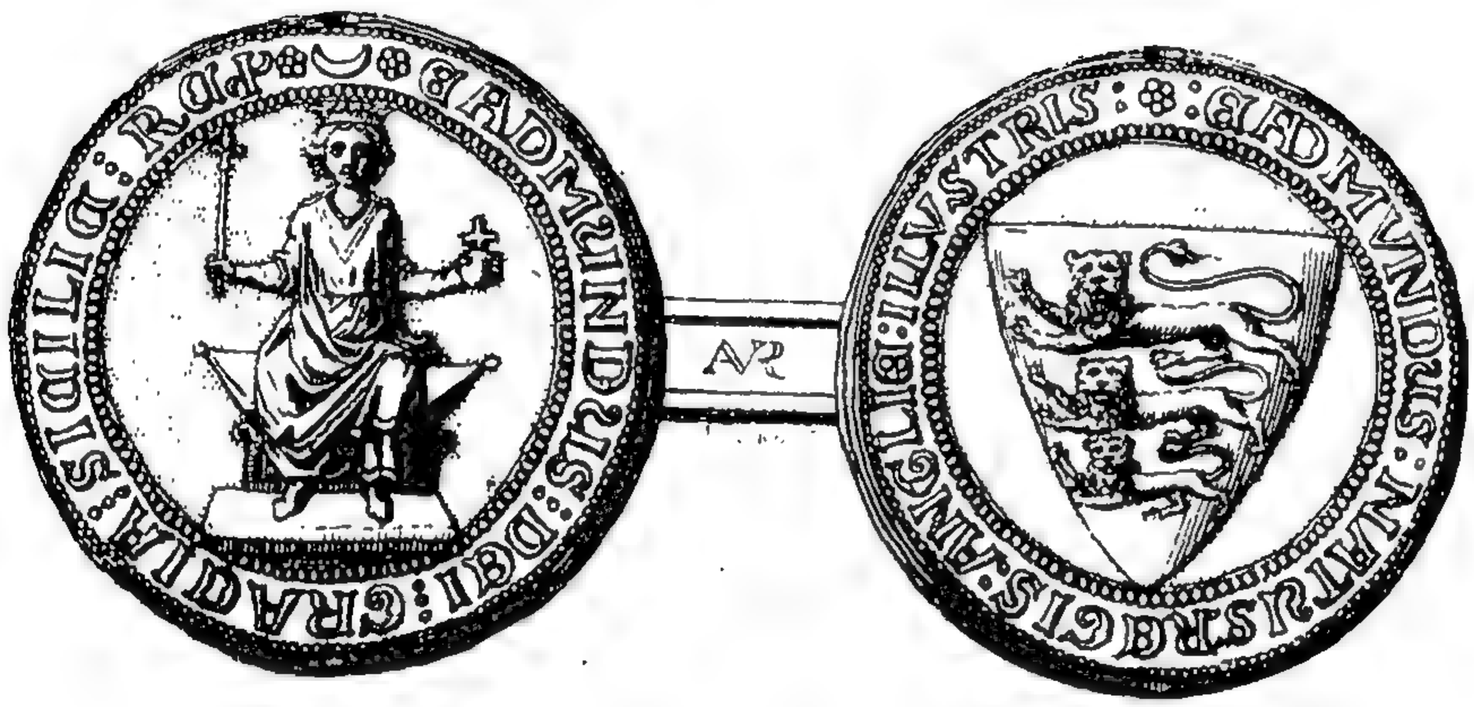
was never affixed to any inſtrument, as there are no holes made through it for ſuch purpoſe. I am, with great truth and regard, Dear Sir,

Your moſt faithful,

and obedient Servant,

Batterſea Riſe,
Feb. 15, 1776.

THOMAS ASTLE.



XIX. *Of the Wiſdom of the Antient* Egyptians; *a Diſcourſe concerning their Arts, their Sciences, and their Learning: their Laws, their Government, and their Religion. With occaſional Reflections upon the State of Learning among the* Jews; *and ſome other Nations.*

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Nov. 30, 1775.

To the Rev. Wm. N O R R I S.

SIR, Cambridge, Nov. 7, 1775.

THE progreſs made by the antient Egyptians in Arts and Sciences, beyond other nations their contemporaries, had been much inſiſted on by various writers, and by ſome chiefly with a view to depreciate the characters of Moſes and the Iſraelites. But a very ingenious writer, the late Robert Wood, Eſq. in a poſthumous work of his, lately publiſhed [*a*], has given his opinion, and ſome reaſons for it, that "the high "compliments which have been ſo long paid to the knowledge "and wiſdom of the antient Egyptians have not been ſo well

[*a*] An Eſſay on the original genius and writings of Homer, 4to. 1775.

"founded

" founded as is generally imagined [*b*]." The ſubject, indeed, is only incidentally handled by Mr. Wood; which it is to be wiſhed he had treated more at large, as few men could be better qualified for it than himſelf. It is of great importance on many accounts, and deſerves a particular diſcuſſion; ſuch a diſcuſſion, we are aſſured, was given to it by the celebrated Dr. John Woodward. This gentleman has hitherto been chiefly known to the learned world by his writings in one branch of natural hiſtory, and his theory of the univerſal deluge, in ſupport of the truth of that great event, as recorded by the Jewiſh legiſlator. But Dr. Woodward did not confine his opinion of Moſes's veracity to this particular tranſaction; but being himſelf, upon mature examination, convinced of the truth of all the other great events which are recorded in the Pentateuch, he very laudably undertook to convince others. Accordingly, he formed a very extenſive plan for the defence and ſupport of the Jewiſh Lawgiver, againſt the formidable attacks that had been made upon him. Some ſpecimens of this great undertaking are given by Mr. Holloway, in his tranſlation from the Latin of *Dr. Woodward's natural hiſtory of the earth illuſtrated, enlarged, and defended* [*c*]. He has alſo given the titles of ſeveral diſtinct treatiſes which compoſed a part of this plan; one of which is, " Of the antient Egyptians, a diſcourſe concerning their arts, " their learning, and their religion, with occaſional reflections " on the ſtate of learning amongſt the Jews, and ſome other " nations [*d*]." In this, beſides other things, ſays Mr. Holloway, the Moſaic inſtitution is vindicated; and the charge of Sir John Marſham [*e*], and Dr. Spencer [*f*], that ſome parts of this inſtitution were taken from the Egyptians, is refuted.

[*b*] P. 118. [*c*] 8vo. 1726. [*d*] P. 168.
[*e*] Chron. Canon. Sæc. 9. [*f*] De Legib. Hebræor. l. iii.

Now,

Now, Sir, it has ſo happened, that this treatiſe, written out fair, and ſeemingly prepared for the preſs, is fallen into my hands, being communicated to me by a gentleman who has very frankly given it up to my diſpoſal [*g*]. To this learned Society I as freely communicate it, thinking it not unworthy their attention; and, if it ſhall be found to deſerve a place in their memoirs, I ſhall eſteem myſelf fortunate in having been in any degree inſtrumental in reſcuing this learned tract from oblivion.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

M. LORT.

Of the Wiſdom of the Antient Egyptians.

I HAVE here laid open a ſcene that is very unpleaſing, and ſhewn mankind in a ſtate extremely low and mean, under mighty difficulties and diſtreſſes. This, indeed, I had given ſome intimations of in a former diſcourſe [*h*], and have now made the thing out more at large; pleaſing myſelf with the hopes that there will come a time in which I ſhall have leiſure and opportunity of doing ſo to all parts of that diſcourſe, for which I have long had the materials in readineſs. As I have here exhibited the dark ſide of the globe, I am ſure I could with far greater ſatisfaction ſhew that which is luminous and

[*g*] Mr. Herbert, of Cheſhunt.

[*h*] Nat. Hiſt. of the earth, p. 55, and 94, 2d edit.

bright,

bright, ſet forth the firſt appearances of ſcience in the world, and trace her thorough all ages and climates. But as this is what my preſent ſubject does not require, ſo neither will my affairs give leave to purſue it. Yet a few brief ſketches I can hardly forbear giving here; and ſhall rejoice to ſee ſome fit hand exert itſelf to the finiſhing of the piece. It would be a work, as of mighty importance and advantage to the world, ſo of vaſt pleaſure to him who ſhould perform it. And this is not a taſk for a declaimer, or vender of meer words, but for a perſon of genius and real knowledge; one who is thoroughly apprized of hiſtory, and the tranſactions of mankind in all ages; who is a maſter of the ſubject he treats of, and has a real underſtanding of the arts, and of the ſciences, of which he writes; and one who has a true knowledge of nature, and a deep inſight into things. Such a one will ſee that nature has been ſteady, invariable, and alike, thorough all ages; the earth and its productions, the water, the air, and heavens, ever the ſame. But, as the ſoils in the ſeveral parts of the globe are very different, likewiſe are the productions there, the fruits, and herbage. Nor do they vary only in kind: but thoſe of even the ſame ſort differ in ſtrength, in goodneſs, and perfection. The animals that feed and live upon theſe differ too. This is, indeed, only a conſequence of that, and what nobody can well wonder at. Nor is it to be imagined that even mankind, that, in the various parts of the earth, ſubſiſts upon thoſe very vegetables, and animals, can be exempted from a like difference. No; aſſuredly the inhabitants of each country partake of the good, or ill, the happineſs or unhappineſs of it. And there is no man, that is converſant in the world, but muſt obſerve that the people of ſome countries are conſiderably ſuperior to thoſe of others, in conſtitution, in ſtature, in ſtrength,

in

in courage, and even in genius, in capacity, and abilities of mind. The things all depend wholly upon cauſes that are fixt and permanent. But then there are others that are accidental and uncertain, that have a great influence upon ſciences and arts, and are the cauſe that they vary and alter much, even among the ſame people, and in the ſame country. Such are the changes and revolutions of empire; the genius and diſpoſition of the prince, and of men of figure and fortune in the commonwealth; the nature of the government; liberty or oppreſſion; peace or war; the particular guſts and inclinations of perſons that are ſtirring, active, and have an influence upon the people; different maxims and opinions in religion, in policy, and in philoſophy, that happen to prevail; the various ſorts of entertainments, recreations, and ways of pleaſure, that are in faſhion; and the different modes of ſtudy, *e. gr.* of philoſophy, antiquity, hiſtory, oratory, poetry, or philology, that happen to obtain and come in vogue. All theſe ought to be exactly attended to, and well weighed, by one that would know the true ſprings that ſet things in motion; in order to the rightly conducting himſelf in the compiling a hiſtory of ſcience. If the brief landſcape, I am here about to give of the wiſdom of the Egyptians, may contribute any thing towards it, I ſhall not think the few hours ſpent in the drawing wholly miſapplied.

EGYPT is a country aſſuredly very happy, ſending forth all things uſeful to human life in great plenty and perfection; and this too without much labour or culture, the Nile, in its yearly inundations, depoſing a ſlime upon it that renders it fruitful beyond meaſure; ſo that the inhabitants have ſcarcely any thing more to do than only to ſcatter a little grain upon the land, and, without further trouble, they have a return in great abundance. It is hardly credible what vaſt numbers of people have been ſupported

ſupported in this country in great plenty and luxury, and it was inhabited very early. The Egyptians, indeed, were here much in the ſame ſtate, that mankind were before the univerſal deluge [*i*]. Their country was vaſtly productive, and with little or no labour or toil. In truth, the conſequences and effects in both caſes were much the ſame; and the Egyptians were not perhaps inferior in vice and immorality [*k*] to the unhappy people of the ages before that diſmal cataſtrophe [*l*]. But this fruitfulneſs of their country allowed them time and leiſure for thought and ſtudy, for improvement of ſcience and arts. While their neighbours, on every ſide, were at great pains upon their much more barren ſoils, and their time taken up in making proviſion for the ſupport of life, the Egyptians had little or nothing of that ſort to do. This gave them a mighty advantage over the countries all round; and it is not to be wondered that they had the ſtart of them as to ſcience, and had very anciently a great reputation for their ſuperiority in learning. But we ſhall have a truer and more certain idea of the learning of thoſe times, when we know of what ſize this was, that was ſo much admired by all the neighbour nations. For I cannot aſſent to the common opinion that there was ever really any conſiderable learning among the Egyptians. It might indeed be thought ſuch by the Cyrenians, Arabians, and the inhabitants of the other barren countries round about, where the people had enough to do to procure meat and cloaths, and had little leiſure to attend to ſtudy or the improvement of the mind. And the great plenty, luxury, and opulency, that ſtrangers,

[*i*] Nat. Hiſt. of the Earth, part ii. p. 83. et ſeqq.

[*k*] V. Herodot. l. ii. c. 48, 49, 60. 89. et 111. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 801. a. Ammian. Mar. l. xxii. c. 16 alios.

[*l*] Nat. Hiſt. of the Earth, p. 85. et ſeqq.

the Greeks, and others, ſaw in Egypt, made them imagine there was ſomewhat very extraordinary in the thing, and that the Egyptians were maſters of ſome mighty knowledge, by means of which, they were intitled to that ſuperiority and thoſe advantages over all their neighbours; whereas in reality they were all owing wholly to the goodneſs of their country. Then they had a very high opinion of their own nation, and the vanity to think the reſt of mankind beſides very weak, illiterate, and meer children [*m*], in compariſon of themſelves. They were the moſt oſtentatious, boaſting [*n*] people in the univerſe, and every body was forward enough to imagine there could not be all that outcry without ſomething at the bottom very conſiderable to warrant it.

BUT what moſt favoured the opinion of their learning were the Hieroglyphic figures that appeared on their obeliſks, their pyramids, and other monuments, on every ſide. They talked of wondrous matters that were couched under thoſe repreſentations; in which they could not be contradicted by the Greeks, who travelled into thoſe parts, or other foreigners, who knew little or nothing of the meaning of them. They might gaze and admire, but muſt be much in the dark as to what they imported, the ſculpture being not only rude, but done in a manner much different from that of Greece. As to the Egyptians,

[*m*] Ventoſa et inſolens natio. Plin. de Aegyptiis in Panegyr. p. 350. a.

Aegyptii viri ventoſi, furibundi, jactantes, injurioſi, atque adeo vani, &c. Fl. Vopiſcus in Saturnino, p. 718.

[*n*] Αἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι. Herodot. l. ii. c. 121. Conf. etiam c. ii. τὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτιακὸν, ἐκ φύσεως καὶ διαφερόντως, ἐστιν ὑπέραυχον. Philo Jud. de Agricult. 196.

I am the ſon of the wiſe, Iſai. xix. 11.

—Became vain in their imaginations, profeſſing themſelves to be wiſe. Rom. i. 21, 22.

they

they only carried on a vain amuſement, and aimed meerly at the aggrandizing and extolling the riches, the power, and the wiſdom of their own nation, having little regard to fact. This is evident from the very accounts they gave of theſe things. The Hieroglyphicks upon the obeliſks were the moſt conſiderable; and ſome of them interpreted theſe as ſetting forth matters of *religion* [*o*]; others of *philoſophy* and *nature* [*p*]; others of hiſtory, and the *riches*, *power*, *victories*, and *actions* of their *princes* [*q*]. The very obelisk which theſe laſt take upon them to interpret, I mean that of Rameſes, is at this day in being; and, after all, the carvings upon it apparently ſet forth only ſomething of the religion, and the ſacred animals [*r*]. Among the reſt, there are, in the ſeveral parts of this pillar, repreſentations of above fifty owls, and almoſt double that number of ſerpents. What theſe could ever poſſibly denote of *victories*, *riches*, and *power*, it will, I believe, be no eaſy thing to find, whatever the vain-glorious humour of the Egyptian prieſts might prompt them to give out; but it is known to every body in how much veneration thoſe animals were had, and how great a figure they made in the religion of the Egyptians. It will be thought perhaps ſtrange by thoſe who are leſs converſant with theſe things, that there ſhould be ſo great numbers of theſe, and other animals, upon the ſame pillar: but it is what is very common in all theſe works, in the obeliſks,

[*o*] Obeliſcos—Antiqui reges—Diis ſuperis in religione dicarunt. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 5.

[*p*] Rerum naturae interpretationem Aegyptiorum opera philoſophiae continent. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 9.

[*q*] Sacerdos Aegyptius ap. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 60. Hermapion ap. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 4. et Strabo, l. xvii. p. 816. c.

[*r*] ἱερὰ ζῶα. Manetho ap. Joſephum contra Apion. l. i. p. 1053. d.

the canopi [*s*], and other idols, the ſhrouds and ſwathes of the mummies [*t*], and other remains of that nation. The deſign was partly to expreſs their great devotion to thoſe creatures, and partly to make a ſhew in their gravings or paintings. It was not unuſual with them to exhibit great numbers of the ſame animals all together, and all figured in the very ſame manner [*u*]; by which they could deſign nothing but meer ſhew and ornament, ſuch as it was. The obeliſks, the gravings of which are very much alike in all, commonly exhibit, towards the top, one of their chief deities, generally Oſiris; with the figure of a prieſt before him, kneeling, and making ſome oblation. This is uſually repreſented in the ſame form preciſely, on all the four ſides of the obeliſk. For the reſt beneath, there is uſually expreſſed a great number and variety of the ſacred animals, *e. gr.* the Lion, Apis, Mnevis, Hawk, Ibis, Crocodile, Scarabaeus, and ſeveral others; but all ſet forth in the moſt diſorderly, wild, and unſkillful manner that can well be imagined. In fine, whoever ſhall conſider the ſculpture upon the Menſa Iſiaca, upon the obeliſks, and other like monuments, and the painting upon the ſhrouds and bandages of the mummies, will plainly diſcover that they only repreſent the Egyptian deities, Oſiris, Iſis, Horus, Apis, and the reſt; the rites and ſolemnities of their worſhip; the utenſils and inſtruments uſed in their ſacrifices; their religious pomps [*w*] and proceſ-

[*s*] V. Canop. ab Ant. Lafrerio ed. Rom. 1547. et alium ap. J. J. Boiſſard. Antiq. tom. vi. tab. 6.

[*t*] V. Nardium in Lucret. tab. iii. fig. 1.

[*u*] V. Nard. ib. fig. 2. et alios.

[*w*] Harum egregiam deſcriptionem concinnavit Cl. Alexandr. Strom. l. vi. p. m. 633. V. Pompam Iſiacam in Marm. Antiq. Romae ap. Jac. Spon. Miſcell. Eruditae Antiquitat. p. 306. De ἱεροφόραις et ἱεροσόλοις, confer Plut. de Iſid. et Oſir. p. 352. b.

ſion

ſion [*x*]; and the ſacred animals. Theſe, with here and there a rude ſcrawl, according to the fancy of the Deſigner, to fill up a vacancy, and the exorciſms and charms upon the ſhrouds of the mummies, are the main things that are ſet forth in that vaſt variety of the Egyptian works, that have been brought to light by the diligence and curioſity of this and the laſt age; and it is plain from the accounts of the ancients, thoſe that are periſhed and deſtroyed were of the like ſort. So that any one who ſhall go about to make a ſymbolical conſtruction of theſe, as Diod. Siculus [*y*], Plutarch [*z*], Clement Alexandrinus [*a*], the author under the name of Horus Apollo [*b*], and ſome other of the Ancients have done, to paſs by the voluminous and fanciful works of J. Pierius [*c*], N. Cauſſinus [*d*], F. Kircher [*e*], and ſome later writers, may, with full as much reaſon, make the like interpretation of the Ἀνάγλυφα and Baſſo-Relievos of the ancient Greeks and Romans, or the Hiſtory-paintings of Raphael, M. Angelo, Rubens, or M. Le Brun. A view of the things themſelves will ſoon ſhew any one that the deſign of theſe Egyptian ſculptures and pictures was chiefly to give an hiſtorical repreſentation of the religious cuſtoms of that nation. Nor can it be thought ſtrange there ſhould be ſuch numbers of theſe, to any one who knows how infinitely ſuperſtitious the Egyptians were above all other people. But then this way of expreſſion

[*x*] De Deorum Καμαχσίαις, v. Clem. Alexand. Στρωμ. l. v. p. 567. et Th. Gale. V. Cl. in Not. ad Iamb. de Myſt. p. 252, 253.

[*y*] Bibl. Hiſt. l. iii.

[*z*] De Iſid. et Oſir.

[*a*] Στρωμ. l. v. p. 566. et ſeqq.

[*b*] Ἱερογλυφ. l. ii.

[*c*] Hieroglyphica.

[*d*] De Symb. Aegypt. Sapientia.

[*e*] Oedip. Aegypt. et. Obeliſc. Pamphl.

was

was tedious, difficult, and much inferior to that which now obtains in China. For though this was originally the ſame with the Egyptian, yet the Chineſe rendered it by degrees much more practicable and expeditious. At firſt they made uſe of only a few of the out-lines of the drawing to repreſent any thing by. Afterwards they reduced theſe to characters, deſigning them to denote words. At length they hit upon a method of making a connexion of them, by ſomewhat that anſwered to the particles in ſpeech. Thus by degrees they found out a way of ſetting forth a language, and this was truly ſymbolical. But that was an advance far beyond what the Egyptians had any proſpect of. And yet, with all that improvement, this method falls far ſhort of that of letters; it carries-on learning very ſlowly, as will appear hereafter when I come to ſpeak of the ſtate of it in China. And I think it is by this time pretty plain, that, ſtript of its varniſh and amuſement, the Egyptian method of propagating and delivering knowledge down, was vaſtly more defective than even the Chineſe.

I KNOW well that the Egyptians, in their wonted boaſting manner, and pretences to things of which they were never really maſters, bragged they had letters. This we learn from Herodotus [*f*]. But there is not in hiſtory, nor any of all their numerous monuments yet remaining, ſo much as a ſingle inſtance of any one letter, till the antient Greeks came amongſt them. For want of theſe, how highly ſoever they might boaſt, they had no records of their nation, their kings, or the tranſactions amongſt them. Nothing but a mere looſe tradition. This is the reaſon that their antient hiſtory is ſo fabulous, and ſo much in the dark, beyond that of almoſt all other nations;

[*f*] ii. 36.

and

and that we know little or nothing of them, with any certainty, till after the Greeks came among them.

As little is there to be ſaid for the ſenſe and virtue of the Egyptians. I believe there can be not any one ſingle inſtance produced of either in all their whole ſtory. If they had any, they would have ſhewn it when their country was the hardeſt preſſed, when it was attacked by foreign enemies, and their lives, liberties, their families, their country, and every thing that was dear to them, was at ſtake; as on occaſion of the deſcent of Cambyſes, of the Greeks, of the Romans. The Egyptians, on theſe great urgent occaſions, far from concerting meaſures for the defence of themſelves and their country, acted ever rather like men wild and diſtracted than poſſeſſed of any thought or reaſon, ſo that they fell an eaſy prey to any invader. Cambyſes took Peluſium, the very key of Egypt, by putting cats, dogs, ſheep, in the front of the army; the Egyptians immediately laying down their arms, and chooſing rather to give up their whole country to their utter enemy, a foreigner, a tyrant, than riſque the hurting their cats, or any of the ſacred animals. At their final reduction by the Romans, the ſeveral provinces were engaged in a very fierce war about their gods, a dog, a lion, a crocodile, and the reſt, which was to have the preference, and be reputed the ſuperior deity: till the Romans partly beat, and partly laught them out of that ſo fooliſh ſtrife, having eaſily made themſelves maſters of their country, and got their perſons, and all they poſſeſſed, in their power.

Nor had the Egyptians really any reputation for wiſdom but during thoſe times that their neighbours were ſavage, and had none. While the inhabitants of Greece and the other more barren countries were wholly taken up in ſearch and toil for

for food, and the common neceſſaries of life, Egypt, being rendered exuberantly fruitful by the yearly inundations of the Nile, and productive of thoſe neceſſaries without any conſiderable labour, the Egyptians had time on their hands, which the neighbour nations wanted, to conſider of methods of living. They therefore formed themſelves into communities, ſettled under a government, built houſes, ſuch as they were, improved on the common diet, acorns, cheſnuts, and ſuch things as grew chiefly upon trees and ſhrubs, by finding out better fruits, bread-corn, and other things. They made cloaths; fell, by degrees, into ſome little practice of art and embelliſhment, painting, and ſculpture. The Greeks, all this while, were wild, dwelling in caves and woods. Some of theſe, happening to make excurſions into Egypt, long after Moſes and the Iſraelites had dwelt amongſt, and much improved, the Egyptians, ſeeing there vaſt numbers of people, and a ſo much different face of things from what they had left at home, fell into loud acclamations of the *Wiſdom of the Egyptians*. But, taking from them hints of all theſe things, and methods of life, they ſoon, not only came up to them, but ſo vaſtly exceeded them, that, in theirs, there hardly remained any footſteps, or the leaſt ſhew of their firſt patterns. I have not now time to ſet forth the hiſtories and particular facts, and therefore ſhall content myſelf with leaving here that brief but excellent ſketch that Horace, who as well underſtood thoſe antient times as any man, hath left us of the ſtate of things, in Greece, before Orpheus, and Amphion, travelling into Egypt, brought thence back thoſe rudiments of arts, and knowledge, which were afterwards ſucceſſively improved in Greece, to ſo incredibly great a degree, above the Egyptian originals, which they themſelves never exceeded.